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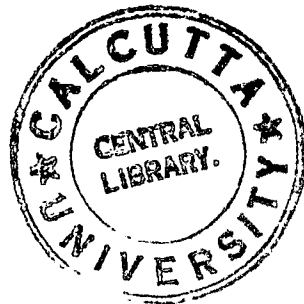
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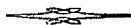


GODDESS DASABHUJA

[From an old painting]

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1928



THE REFORM OF CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Nearly ten years have passed since the Calcutta University Commission issued its comprehensive report ; but, though some of its proposals have been adopted in other parts of India and Dacca University has been established, the University of Calcutta remains constitutionally unchanged. This fact is the less surprising, as though the Commission recognized that the main difficulties of Calcutta University were due to its complexity and excessive size, the reforms proposed would have greatly added to the complexity of its organization, and would not have prevented its continued increase in size. According to many Indian educationalists the Indian Universities were started on altogether wrong lines ; those lines, it appears to me, were the best available, and the gigantic growth of the universities indicates their suitability to the Indian conditions of their time. The greatest legislative blunder in the history of the Indian Universities was that the Curzon Commission of 1902-4 failed to use its unique opportunity. Calcutta University was then 45 years old ; it had grown too large, and was yet inadequate. Its examinations were hampering the best of the teachers, and were an ineffective check on the less efficient. Its Colleges needed reform and expansion. Unfortunately, instead of improving the examination system and setting up a teaching University which could have provided the Colleges with an adequate supply of well trained

teachers, the Curzon Commission piled further responsibilities and duties on the already overburdened University organization. The Universities Act of 1904 applied throughout India, but the troubles due to it were most serious in Bengal ; for the success of Calcutta University and its progress with schemes for the higher branches of work gave the opportunities for greater internal friction. The conclusion on which the Calcutta University Commission of 1917-9 under Sir Michael Sadler was most united and emphatic was the need for drastic reform, and for reduction in the scope of the University's work.

In 1918 Calcutta University had a larger number of students than any other university in the world. It had 28,400 students, and the number has since risen to over 34,000. It has been exceeded by Columbia University, New York, with its 34,247 in 1924-5, which I am informed has been surpassed by the Federal University of California. The huge European and American Universities have two advantages over those of India ; they are fed by better schools and can rely on a larger expert educational " *posse comitatus* " for service on the governing bodies and Committees. Dimensions that may be tolerable in Europe and the United States may be unworkable in India.

Calcutta University, with its 51 colleges and 28,400 students, and its jurisdiction over 288,000 students,¹ has become both too large and complex for satisfactory management by any unpaid board. If the East Indian Railway were to replace its Directors and highest officials by an unpaid Committee of 100 eminent citizens, its trains would probably be less punctual than they are. One method of reducing the size of the University would be by depriving many of the colleges of their University status. This course has been recommended on the ground that the numbers of University students and colleges are in excess of the requirements of Bengal ; but any policy that involved the abolition for many of the colleges of their university connexion

¹ The numbers for 1917 are given by Richey, 8th Quinqu. Rev., Vol. I, p. 49, as 58 colleges and 28,618 students.

would be strenuously resisted. That resistance would, I think, be inspired by a sound and creditable instinct. The belief in higher education is especially ardent in Bengal, and ambition to obtain a university training is particularly to be encouraged in a poor crowded community where the brain-power of the people is the most valuable asset. The objection that the Universities train more men for degrees than there are posts for them to occupy applies to other countries besides India. We hear in Scotland of graduates making their fiftieth unsuccessful application for a post, and of others who, recognising the conditions, make no attempt to secure employment in their Honours subject. Sweden has recently established an organization to find work for its unemployed graduates, and a similar scheme has been proposed in England. Nevertheless the University degree is steadily strengthening its position and, during the past 20 years, has beaten the technical college diploma out of the market.

The reduction in the size of Calcutta University by depriving the provincial, Mufassal Colleges of their university status would crowd more students into Calcutta, where educational concentration is already excessive. The Mufassal Colleges should be encouraged and strengthened, and not weakened by the threatened loss of their university rank.

A second method of the reduction of Calcutta University would be by the separation of individual provincial colleges as independent universities ; but as the Sadler Commission recognized, with the exception of Dacca, there is no provincial College in Bengal which is likely to be qualified as a unitary University for many decades to come.

At the date of the Calcutta University Commission most Indian educational authorities were in favour of the unitary in preference to the federal university, and they considered that British opinion was predominantly the same. India received the report of the Haldane Commission on London University (March 1913) as the supreme educational revelation. That

Commission did not like examining Universities, and hoped that the side of London University which examined external students would in time be discontinued. Its report has since been officially set aside in this country as of no account. Lord Haldane himself has since recommended the maintenance in Wales of the Federal Examining University. A Commission upon the University of Wales, with Lord Haldane as Chairman, was appointed, with the object—according to one of its leading members—of replacing that Federal University by three independent unitary Universities. I was therefore amazed to find, when in India during the session of the Calcutta University Commission, from an advanced proof of the Welsh University Report, that the federal system, instead of being swept out of Wales, was to be confirmed and extended. Its extension was duly enacted.

During the past 15 years there has been a strong reaction in Britain in favour of the federal university system. Glasgow University ceased to be unitary in 1913, when it led the way in the policy which has rendered unnecessary the establishment of technological universities, by its affiliation of the Royal Technical College, and of the Agricultural College of the West of Scotland. London University, by its recent decision to accept the internal examinations of the Imperial College of Science at South Kensington as qualifying for the University degrees, has practically adopted the federal system as regards one of its colleges. "Nature," formerly one of the most influential critics of the Examining University of London, has in recent years recognized that its examining side is indispensable in the educational system of the British Isles, and is an important Imperial asset.

That the trend of University development in India is also towards faith in the Examining University is shown by the changes in the United Provinces. In accordance with the predominant opinion of a couple of decades ago, Allahabad University was converted from an examining to a teaching University, and

was left in control of some affiliated colleges. The Act of 1926 separated those colleges from Allahabad University, and with the unanimous approval of all the institutions concerned. Agra University was inaugurated in 1927 as an examining university for the United Provinces.

The former hostility to federal universities was due to the distrust of examinations, and it was believed in India that the University which gave degrees to external students upon examinations would soon be a thing of the past. Examinations themselves had been in extreme disfavour. They are naturally unpopular among both teachers and pupils, for they hamper the good teachers, reveal the deficiencies of the inefficient, and punish the lazy student. The indispensable help of properly conducted examinations has, however, been generally recognised in recent years. Examinations enable a few experts to control and guide the teaching over the larger area than they could influence by inspection. Examiners can see that the teachers pay due attention to the essential parts of a subject, and do not devote too much time to the easier sections and the fairy tales of science. Examinations show which teachers know their subject and can teach it. They enable inaccurate and out of date textbooks to be suppressed, or lead to the correction of their errors. Examinations moreover test the student's character, morale, and nerve, as success generally goes to those who have the self-discipline and foresight to work steadily throughout their course, and who are sufficiently quickwitted to apply their knowledge. Students who are flustered in an examination room would probably fail in an emergency in after life. So improved is the reputation of examinations that during the last alteration of the Constitution of London University, special regulations to safeguard its external examining side were regarded as unnecessary, as no one of any authority held the obsolete view that it would be possible to dispense with that branch of the University work.

So long as the external examination is necessary in the educational system of the British Isles it can hardly be dispensed

with in India. As Sir Henry Sharp predicted in his address on the Development of Indian Universities to the Society of Arts (J. R. Soc. Arts, Vol. 73, 1925, p. 524), "The affiliating University has still a long life before it in India." J. A. Richey goes further when he declares in the last Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India (Vol. I, p. 64), "There will always be in India a need for Universities of the affiliating type."

The subdivision of Calcutta University into separate teaching and examining institutions was practically impossible in 1918 owing to the feeling in Calcutta in favour of the unity of the University, and the desire of the Mufassal Colleges to retain their connection with Calcutta. Bengal was proud of its University, and wished it to remain the largest in the world. The Principals of the Mufassal Colleges feared that if it were subdivided the change would deprive many of those institutions of their University rank.

The urgent need for reform of the University, and the obvious impossibility at that time of establishing an independent Teaching University in Calcutta, led the Commission to adopt a compromise. The whole Commission recommended the relegation of the lower classes of the Colleges to "Intermediate Colleges" which would be pre-University in grade; the transfer of the recognition of schools to a Secondary Education Board; and a fundamental change in the constitution of the University. The majority recommended a scheme to enable the University to cope with the varied and enormous activities that would be left to it, as it would remain in charge of all higher education in Bengal except at Dacca. But the scheme proposed was so elaborate and costly that the failure to adopt it is not surprising.

As regards the government of the Mufassal Colleges the Commission adopted a compromise based on their being placed under a special board which might either disappear in time or be separated as a University of "a federal or combined federal

and affiliating type.” (Report, Vol. IV, p. 349.) I assented to this compromise owing to the impracticability at that time of establishing two separate Universities, but I predicted that the separation of the teaching and examining functions of the University would be welcomed in ten years’ time. The Board of Mufassal Colleges could then be separated as a Federal Examining University for all the Colleges in Bengal except those that were constituents of the Teaching Universities of Calcutta and Dacca.

The fact that there has been no attempt in Calcutta to enact the elaborate scheme proposed by the majority of the Commission shows that there is little prospect of its adoption. Progress might now be possible on the alternative policy, which was to strike at the root of the trouble by the separation of the teaching and examining work of the University. Some of the colleges, such as the Presidency College, the Medical College, the College of Science, Sibpur Engineering College, and perhaps some others, might be united as a Teaching University in Calcutta, while the rest might be combined as an Examining Federal University. The government of this federal university should include a board containing a representative of each of the colleges of which more than a certain number of students graduate at the University.

Any subdivision of Calcutta University would meet with opposition and would be regretted by many who might accept it. For that University has aroused amongst its graduates an unusual degree of pride and affection. Few institutions are prepared to welcome their own dismemberment. But the graduates and staff should feel the just pride of a parent in the growth into independence of a lusty son, and may be reconciled to the change by realizing that continued yoking of the examining and teaching sides of the University is detrimental to its progress and to the educational interests of Bengal.

If the reluctance of the University to give up any of its present work—a feeling that is largely sentimental—could be

overcome, it might be relatively easy to allay other opposition ; for the reform on this plan would not involve the difficulties that have proved insuperable with the full Commission scheme. That may be fairly described as revolutionary, as it required so many drastic changes to be made concurrently. Recognition of this fact led to the proposal that a temporary commission should be appointed with arbitrary powers. If the University were subdivided into a teaching and an examining organization, each part might develop on more vigorous and progressive lines. The difficulties of finance would not be serious. The Federal University would obtain large funds from examination fees, while some of the constituents of the Teaching University would carry on with their present incomes ; and the Teaching University might reasonably hope for such supplementary Government assistance as would be needed.

Fundamental changes in the constitution of the University would be unnecessary. The Senate and Syndicate might remain in charge of all the work left in the Federal University and the chief advantages of the proposed Mufassal Board could be obtained by the existing Government powers of appointment. Some representatives of the Mufassal Colleges should be on the governing authority of the Examining University, so that it would be federal and affiliating, and not only an examination board for external students.

The institution of the Intermediate Colleges would be a matter that would primarily concern the Federal Affiliating University. It might secure their establishment as soon as an adequate supply of teachers for them were available, and the conditions would enable those colleges to fulfil expectations.

The two Universities would have such different functions that friction between them should be avoidable, and they should co-operate, the students of the one University passing on to the post-graduate courses in the other, just as students interchange in the higher courses among British Universities,

The objections raised in 1918 on behalf of the Mufassal Colleges would not apply to the separation of a Teaching University from Calcutta University. Those colleges would retain their rights and their connection with Calcutta. They would be given a stimulus to develop, since as soon as any one of them were strong enough, it could apply for a charter as an independent Unitary Teaching University. The colleges would have easier relations with Calcutta than when competing with such powerful and well-equipped institutions as the Presidency and Medical Colleges.

Instead of the subdivision of Calcutta University three other courses may be suggested.

1. The adoption of the proposals in the majority report of the Calcutta University Commission. As nine years have elapsed without progress on those lines, they are not likely to be followed now, especially as the conditions have been so greatly altered by the Indian Reform Act of 1919 and by other changes.

2. To make no important constitutional changes but let the University quietly reform itself. The experience of the last few years shows that no adequate reforms are likely to be secured by this policy, and though the University may endure for years, although too heavy for its constitutional framework, some of its departments will assuredly reach a condition of inefficiency which may lead to the enforcement of drastic changes from without.

3. That the objections formerly advanced to the proposed University of Bengal are valid to a University composed of the Mufassal and of some of the Calcutta Colleges.

The main objection in 1918 was that the Mufassal Colleges felt that they might lose their University status if the University were subdivided into a teaching and an examining body. If the changes would not involve the loss of their affiliation with the University of Calcutta, their interest would be to support its subdivision.

If a central Teaching University in Calcutta were based on some of the Calcutta Colleges and the rest of them were left as a distinct University, it might be suggested that the name of the University of Bengal would be appropriate for the Examining University, as it would include colleges in both Calcutta and the Mufassal. That name would appear to be in accordance with precedents in the United States and Canada ; but in those cases there is one University for a whole State. The existence of the separate Universities in Calcutta and Dacca would render this name inappropriate. The same objection would apply to the term Presidency University for the Teaching University ; for though the name Presidency is suitable for the premier college of Bengal it would not be for the University if restricted to one city, and there included only part of the University work.

To entitle the teaching institution the University of Calcutta would transfer the name from an organization which was still carrying on its original and main work to a new body, and to work that was not part of the original functions of the Calcutta University.

It would be fully in accordance with general practice for a University, even though it has a wide sphere of operations, to be named after a capital city. It would therefore be historically more suitable for the Examining University to retain the name of the University of Calcutta.

It would be equally in accordance with precedent for a centralized Teaching University to be named after an individual. The rival names suggested for the proposed Teaching University in London were Gresham and Albert. The Leland-Stanford of California is an American example. The Teaching University in Calcutta might be associated with the name of Asutosh Mookerjee, who secured for the University the munificent Tarak Nath Palit and Rash Behari Ghose endowments, who founded the great Post-graduate College, who did so much to inspire the present enthusiasm for higher education in Bengal, and reiterated his conviction (*e.g.*, in his Convocation Address for 1912) that

“what we require are Universities teaching rather than examining.” He proclaimed the importance of a centralized Teaching University in Calcutta, which would be readily adaptable to the fast changing conditions of India. He realized that the University under its present constitution was not developing as well as he desired. He regretfully deplored “that our Indian Universities have so far failed conspicuously to come up to the standard of the Western Universities.” The Indian Universities, he added, “may be said to have acted as faithful guardians of the sacred flame, but they have done nothing to make it burn brighter and higher so as to dispel in an ever-widening circumference the carkness which surrounds human intelligence.”

There appears to have been growing recognition in Calcutta during the past ten years that despite the general progress and brilliant achievements connected with the University, the drift into inefficiency of some departments is a growing danger to the whole institution. The establishment of a Teaching University in Calcutta would be an appropriate memorial to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and would secure for its research institutions those powers of illumination which he thought they should possess, and which are restricted while they are hampered by inclusion in a primarily Examining University .

J. W. GREGORY

BRITONS AND BENGALIS

It used to be said in my youth that when the English evacuated India they would leave nothing behind them except empty beer-bottles and derelict railway embankments. The gibe has lost whatever force it once possessed. India is now invested with all the paraphernalia of a modern empire. Railways, roads and irrigation canals have banished the incubus of famine which still oppressed her in the Seventies. Disease is fought with every weapon forged by science. Higher education is within the reach of the humblest ryot ; and the English language has supplanted Urdu as a vehicle for exchanging thought throughout the vast peninsula. But I need not expatiate on the benefits which India derives from her connection with England. Suffice it to add that her noble codes of law will survive when all other evidences of foreign rule shall have passed away.

For ages unnumbered India was severed from the rest of the world by mountain barriers and stormy seas. Her isolation is a thing of the past. For good or for evil she has been brought within the vortex of spiritual forces which are moulding the course of civilisation. Chief among these is the Democratic ideal, which asserts the indefeasible right of every citizen to take part in the duties of government. It inspired the experiment made nine years ago, when England conceded to India every political privilege which her own sons had won after seven centuries of struggle with arbitrary and personal rule. The bonds that linked her with Whitehall were relaxed ; the foundations of parliamentary government were well and truly laid. Englishmen had done their utmost to make the new Constitution a reality. It was the great Napoleon's aim to give everyone a "career open to talents," and his ideal has materialised in India. Who in the Seventies foresaw that

fifty years later a Bengali leader would be raised to the Peerage and govern a province? It needs but a decade of cordial co-operation on the part of Indian races to weld them into a self-governing Nation. Unhappily for the world's future ignorance and prejudice stand as lions in the path of political progress. To take part in the task of slaying them is the ambition of an old man who longs to see à perfect understanding achieved between Indians and Englishmen ere he joins the great majority.

The influence of a country's soil and climate on the formation of national character has long engaged the attention of students, but this subject gives rise to problems which have hitherto defied solution. Why, for instance, do European families long settled in the United States of America exhibit many characteristics of the Red Indian aborigines; and why do the children of English settlers in South Africa become sturdy Afrianders? No such mystery attaches to the causes of England's greatness. Her people are of mixed descent. The racial warp was given by the advent of certain Teutonic tribesmen who colonised the island after the departure of its Roman garrison. They were stolid, drunken and barbarous, but possessed a strong sense of citizenship: the germs of representative government existed in England long before the Norman Conquest. The weft consisted of Scandinavians who came from a huge peninsula lying between 55° of northern latitude and the Arctic Circle. Their habitat was unsuited to agriculture; but survivors in the struggle with niggard Nature became vigorous, enterprising and quick-witted. Setting forth in galleys from the fiords which indent their coast, these Northmen or Normans founded principalities on the Mediterranean littoral and in northern France. The invasion of England by William, Duke of Normandy, marks an era in the world's history. His followers found a comparatively genial climate and a soil which favoured the production of wool. Wealth poured in, affording the sinews of dynastic warfare; and a coast-line longer than that of any European country gave them command

of the sea. Then began a clash between opposing ideals which endures at the present day. The Catholic religion which then prevailed throughout Europe, enjoined good works as a means of attaining salvation ; and the conception of citizenship which had taken root in Saxon England was a further incentive to labour for the common weal. The ideal of Social Service shone brightly in the Middle Ages.

Towards the close of that era human energy received another orientation from the invention of book-keeping by double-entry, which revolutionised the mechanism of foreign trade. Its author, an Italian Jew, belonged to a race which had always been devoted to money-getting. Its ruling passion infected Western Europe, and appealed with special force to Englishmen. Now all commerce consists in taking advantage of other people's necessities. Those who pursue it are apt to disregard the interests of their human instruments and of the community at large. Moreover, the morality of men leagued together for purposes of gain is in inverse ratio to the numbers so associated. Commercialism spread to the Church of Rome, provoking a violent reaction from reformers who sought to purge religion of its taint ; but the basic theory of the Protestant Reformation declared the acceptance of specified doctrines to be the sole passport to Heaven ; and the ideal of social service suffered a long eclipse. Commercialism received a mighty impetus from the discovery of the Cape route to India ; and the maritime nations of Europe started on a race for the monopoly of Asiatic trade. It was won by England by virtue of her superior resources. The creation of the East India Company in 1600 is another landmark in history ; but the merchant-adventurers who obtained a charter of exclusive privileges from Queen Elizabeth's government were anything but empire-builders. They came as suppliants for a share of Indian trade to the throne of the Emperor of Delhi ; and their successors were forced by the instinct of self-preservation to take up the sceptre which fell from his feeble hands. Commercialism forged the links

which bind India to England, and the empire which rose on foundations unwittingly laid by a trading company retain many features of the counting house. The influence of commercialism was seen in the warfare which absorbed England's energy during the 18th century, in the supersession of cottage industries by machinery, and in the wholesale corruption which was bred by wealth wrung from the people of India. There was some truth in Napoleon's indictment of English as "a nation of shopkeepers," and Benjamin Disraeli had good grounds for saying that they had "stopped short at comfort and called it civilization." The eighth Earl of Elgin, renowned as a diplomatist and Viceroy of India, had cause to lament "the extension of the area over which Englishmen could exhibit the hollowness of their civilization and their Christianity." Glancing back on the chequered course of the Empire's history, one is compelled to admit that progress, in the true sense of that much-abused word, was retarded by the mastery of commercialism. But the ideal of Service revived at the 18th Century's dawn, and bore fruit in the formation of leagues without number for promoting social betterment. Its momentum is daily gathering strength, and bids fair to solve many a problem that vexes the modern world.

Nations learn little from one another except their peculiar vices; and Indians are inclined to judge the English race without weighing its solid virtues in the balance. The time is opportune for an attempt to review its qualities without pride or prejudice. Englishmen cherish the liberties which their forbears won after an age-long struggle with absolutism. They are law-abiding and eager to support legitimate authority. They are humane; English revolutions have been accomplished without bloodshed and English mobs are proverbially tender-hearted. They love manly games, which teach the immense value of teamwork and a chivalrous regard for fair play. They reverence tradition, and stand fast on ancient

ways ; hasty legislation is exceptional in their Parliament and ill-considered schemes seldom materialise. Their enterprise has made a little island set on northern seas the hub of a world-wide empire, which gives fair promise of becoming a society of self-governing nations. Their steadfast courage stood the acid test of the most terrible war in history, and enabled them to overcome a General Strike which would have plunged other countries in anarchy.

No human being and no institution devised by man can be flawless ; and a regard for justice compels me to add shadows to my picture. Englishmen lack imagination ; and very few possess the faculty of comprehending other people's aspirations. This defect has far-reaching consequences. It explains the genesis of the British empire ; for conquest and a capacity to sympathise stand at opposite poles. It precludes Englishmen foreseeing future contingencies.

In replying to a letter from William Wilson Hunter, Sir James Stephen wrote :

"John Bull is a well-meaning giant, but very nearly blind. In my opinion it would be well worth our Government's while to create a special historical or intelligence department, that we might have some idea of the Natural Consequences of our actions."

The Englishman's conservatism too often becomes "toleration of intolerable things" ; and his racial pride breeds a thinly veiled contempt for all foreigners. He is inclined to draw a colour-line, and maintain caste distinctions ; but both characteristics are common to all races of Aryan descent. Indians are equally prone to glory in a fair complexion, and their rigid caste-system hinders the achievement of Nationality.

In attempting to appraise a great people's qualities, one must take account of the judgments formed by contemporaries who are able to regard the question from an objective standpoint. Edmund Burke had a keen sense of the injury done to Ireland by English commercialism, and yet he paid a

- tribute to "the ancient and inbred integrity, piety, good nature and good humour of the English. Despite the mutual antipathy which has been engendered by centuries of dynastic warfare and commercial rivalry, we find a patriotic Frenchman declaring that "England stands as an example to the world by her moral qualities, her generosity, practical initiative and devotion to the interests of mankind." Although the Fatherland is still smarting under defeat, a German writer has recently admitted that "the English people have a strong sense of justice, and as a rule a horror of oppression." Indians may surely accept English guidance in their efforts to weld the races of their country into a nation.

The origin of the Bengalis is wrapped in mystery ; but most ethnologists place it in Central Asia. Long before the dawn of history a race or races classed as "Aryans" occupied the country between the rivers Amu Darya and Sir-i-Darya, which now forms part of Russian Turkestan. In the 16th century B.C. the globe's surface in that region began to rise. That the Caspian and the Sea of Aral once formed part of Polar Ocean, is proved by their Fauna. Slowly they shrunk to their present dimensions ; and the river that discharged into the Northern Sea flowed in diminished volume. Driven from Central Asia by the desiccation of their pasture ground, the Aryans trekked westwards and southwards in quest of fresh fields. One swarm was held up in the Caucasus, for mountain ranges always call a halt to human migrations. Others poured into Europe, to become the ancestors of our Slavs and Teutons. Others made their way into India probably through the comparatively level country which now constitutes Afghanistan and Baluchistan. The Aryans met with fierce resistance from the dark-skinned aborigines, but finally drove them into the mountains or reduced them to slavery. They found Bengal a land which was in process of being won from the sea by riverine action. A tropical climate and a soil which is yearly fertilized by alluvium favoured the accumulation

of wealth. The warrior-caste established a powerful kingdom and the priests developed a system of philosophy which ranks with the profoundest speculation of the ancient Greeks. But torrid sunshine and the ravages of malaria kept human energy at a low ebb. Bengal has no physical defences on its northern or western borders, and its inhabitants have always succumbed to invasion. The first conquest which history records was achieved by the sword of Islam in the thirteenth century of the Christian era, and three hundred years later Bengal became a province of the Mughal Empire. Akbar's enlightened régime crumbled away under his successors, and received its death-blow from the Emperor Aurangzib's intolerance. The provincial Governor threw off his allegiance to Delhi, and established a short-lived dynasty which gave way in its turn to the East India Company's rule. Appalling indeed was the condition of Bengal throughout the eighteenth century. Maratha hordes traversed the Delta, plundering its miserable inhabitants, and only sixty years ago Bengali mothers were wont to quiet their factious children by whispering *Borgi ashibe!*—"The Marathas are coming!" The strong arm of Great Britain alone protects Bengal from foreign invasion and internal anarchy. The province proved of immense value to the English during the era of struggle and consolidation. Its revenues enabled the East India Company to carry on the warfare in which it were involved, and to pursue the policy of annexation which was forced upon it. Sixty years ago Sir George Chesney declared in his *Indian Polity*, that Bengal was, "the one part of India worth retaining were the rest to go." His words apply with ten-fold force at the present day.

Races of Aryan descent have many characteristics in common and, despite wide differences in physical environment, a curious similarity is apparent in certain phases of their evolution. This is especially the case with Bengalis, whose kinship with ourselves cannot be gainsaid. Having spent twenty years in Bengal and maintained close relations with that Province

since my retirement, I may claim a deeper knowledge of its people than any cold-weather visitor can possess. I have no hesitation in affirming that the Bengalis are a lovable race, quick to discern sympathy in an Englishman and eager to serve him with devotion. They have a long memory for acts of kindness; when I am reminded that there is no word for "gratitude" in their vernacular I always ask, "What have *you* done for their welfare?" Injuries and insults leave a lasting impression on their minds. I told the penultimate Governor of Bengal that his reputation would be made or marred by his speech and actions during the first six months of his rule. In addressing a London audience three months ago another ex-Governor said that he had found no traces of public spirit in Bengal. But India, like England, has witnessed a struggle between the ideal of social service and commercialism. Innumerable tanks, temples and bridges stand as evidence that the Indians of old performed good works in view of accumulating religious merit. They now support a vast army of paupers without the compulsion of poor rates. As I remarked in a previous chapter, the first symptom of impending famine is given by wandering lepers who can no longer depend for existence on private charity. Noble gifts for public objects are of daily occurrence in Calcutta; and institutions designed to promote the welfare of women, children and even animals are being founded in increasing numbers. It must be admitted that Bengalis have learnt many "tricks of trade" from their European employers. They often develop a keen commercial sense and amass fortunes in business.

It is impossible to overstate the mischief wrought by writers whose knowledge of the conditions prevalent in India was necessarily superficial. Macaulay brands Bengalis with cowardice in his eloquent Essays (which, by the way, were set up in galley-proofs at a Calcutta Press). Now no quality is so universal as physical courage, and vigorous Bengalis possess it in a marked degree. Their ryots wage pitched battles over a morsel of

land, and their cricketers stand up to fast bowling with bare legs. If Bengalis are not a martial race the reason is that seventy per cent. suffer from malarial fever and its sequelæ. Moreover the ravages of the *anopheles* mosquito and the wire-worm have increased owing to the fact that until recently railways were carried athwart the Delta's natural drainage with absurdly inadequate waterway. On this score Bengalis deserve pity rather than reproach. Macaulay's indictment was of course based on hearsay evidence, and the Anglo-Indians of ninety years ago knew even less of the Bengalis than do their successors of to-day. And he cannot be accepted as an impartial or a trustworthy witness. He viewed past events through Whig spectacles: and his *History of England* is little else than a glorification of the Revolution of 1688. Regarding Macaulay's accuracy, Sir James Murray, who edited the great *Oxford Dictionary*, gave the London Authors' Club some startling facts. His volunteer helpers who undertook to verify all the authorities quoted in the *History*, had discovered that a large proportion of them were fictitious!

In the same category stands Miss Katherine Mayo, whose *Mother India* has made a profound impression in the three continents. She had heard the English administration of India violently attacked by platform orators in the United States, and journeyed thence to Calcutta with the laudable intention of seeing things for herself. Her sincerity cannot seriously be called in question, but here again we detect the evil results of superficial knowledge. To speak with authority on an ancient and alien civilisation demands years of sympathetic study and an intimate acquaintance with the languages on which its various phases find expression. Miss Mayo possesses neither qualification. Her notions of Indian life were gleaned during the cold weather of 1925-6, and her scathing exposure of its defects is to a very large extent based on statements made by people who share her incapacity for forming an unbiassed judgment. The British government rightly insists on its officials observing strict

neutrality on questions of religion, and foreigners ought to realise that they are skating on very thin ice when they venture to impeach a cult which is professed by 217 millions of their fellow creatures.

The religious instinct arises from man's sense of his dependence on an unseen Power whose nature and workings transcend his comprehension. Regarding Wagner's music Mr. H. R. Haweis wrote :

"It reflects the ever-recurrent struggles of the human heart, now in the grip of inexorable fate, now passion-tossed, at war with itself and time, soothed with spaces of calm, flattered by dreams of ineffable bliss, filled with sublime hopes—and content at last with far-off glimpses of God."

Such is the source of the religious instinct, and all its manifestations are worthy of respect, however repellent they may seem to the Western mind. I have no intention of posing as a champion of the Tantric form of Hinduism or of the Kali worship to which Miss Mayo takes such vigorous exception. Neither has any warrant in the early Shastras. Their origin marks the final phase of the age-long struggle between Brahminism and Buddhism, in which the former won a decisive victory by pandering to the lustfulness and love of bloodshed of the barbarous princes who misgoverned India thirteen hundred years ago. But images which excite pruriency or disgust in Europeans serve only to exalt the fervour of Indian devotees, who regard the emblems of birth and destruction from a purely mystical point of view.

In the course of his cold-weather tour, an English Magistrate arrived at a city and was cordially greeted by its inhabitants. Noticing that some obscene bas-relief which figured on the walls of an ancient temple had been painted afresh he learnt that this had been done in honour of his visit. In reply to his remonstrances the Municipal Chairman said, "Sir, we like to think that when our women-folk pass by this temple their eyes should rest on pious and pleasing objects." The mentality thus indicated offers an insoluble problem to the European mind, but it is

encountered everywhere in India. But one may well ask whether the Puritans of England and America have any right to criticise a cult whose hidden meaning they are constitutionally unable to grasp. Hinduism, like Judaism, is rigidly closed to all who have been born outside its pale : it has never persecuted or proselytized : its annals record no Inquisition, no holocausts of "heretics," no hideous and prolonged warfare waged under the pretence of religion. Miss Mayo's book conveys an entirely erroneous impression of Indian society and every abuse that she pillories could be matched in her own country.

Dealing with its effect on the Western mind, Commander Wedgwood, M.P., told a public meeting held in London that it left a friend of his in India "feeling that he could never respect an orthodox Hindu again," and that :—

"Another man, a Cabinet Minister, said he could stand anything but those outrages on children. It left him feeling that he would like to lead something of a Crusade throughout India for the burning of idols and the chastening of priests."

This Cabinet Minister's attitude towards Hinduism is that of many millions in England and America who have been nurtured in the militant creed of the Old Testament. I may add that no "outrages on children" were brought to my knowledge during twenty-one years' experience of criminal administration. A Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children would find no scope for its activities in India. Miss Mayo's book has exasperated the Hindus of Bengal, who find their cherished beliefs assailed, the honour of their women-folk impugned, and the seamy side of their civilisation dragged into the pitiless daylight.

Believing as I do that India's future depends on a good understanding on all sides I cannot but deplore the wide circulation given to statements which are calculated to render co-operation between Englishmen and Indians impossible.

FRANCIS H. SKRINE

AFFECTATIONS

The natural way of living is from within outwards ; the mannerisms of natural people result from their nature. Affected people in so far as they are affected, live from without inwards ; their mannerisms are assumed and eat into their nature becoming second nature, or harden as an impenetrable crust till in time all the man we see is the affectation. Lack of confidence plus self-consciousness makes affectations necessary. An affectation is a mask hiding our real personality ; from behind it we can act more firmly and confidently. Or sometimes it is less a mask than a sign to catch the attention and lure it from our weaknesses. We pose, or affect a mannerism, to prevent our natural gauchness being observed. Affectations in speech act as such charms. A lisp flaunts insipidity in face of the world to distract attention from more solid virtues. A Parisian bubble in one's r's insures one's conversation against insularity.

The commonest affectations are in clothes. There lies the measure of our sincerity. Natural men and women take no interest in their clothes. Perfect self-confidence and complete unself-consciousness will almost bring a man to rags. When the natural boy begins to care for his clothes he has become self-conscious or lost his confidence. Since one is clothed from birth one might expect one's garments to lose their virtue as affectations. This is not so. Most people remain conscious of their clothes, which stand for the appearance they make before the world. Next to being devoured or chased by a wild beast, our worst nightmare is discovering ourselves in a crowd, insufficiently dressed. This suggests that our sub-conscious mind worries lest the barrier hiding our real selves should suddenly fail, that the sophisticated and the civilised still look on their clothes as an affectation. Our clothes make a difference to our confidence. There is no better cure for social diffidence than to be the best dressed woman in the room and nothing more devastating to one's assurance than being the worst. No one recognises this better than the frivolous, and even those who

despise the artificial dignity of clothes, feel it too. So accustomed are we to the sensation of being clothed that the tiniest nicety in them makes a difference ; we can distinguish subtle shades of affectation. A necklace, a tiara, may give the crowning touch to one's confidence, and the thinnest veil of powder on the nose create the illusion of having hidden the whole woman.

Though some tiny pretence at masking oneself, the wearing of some symbol of security, suffices for most, the almost universal enthusiasm of idle people in dressing up, shows that we should become much more affected if time permitted. Fancy dress or impersonation carries the illusion of security very far, and may give a quite absurd sense of liberation from the shackles of our proper personality. It is partly to make certain of this escape that women like to dress as men and men as women. One would almost say that drama owes some of its impulse to the uneasiness which many people feel in their own skins. Although the actor imitates that his audience may admire the imitation as such, part of the spring in his impulse may lie in a craving to lose his ordinary self.

Civilisation has its recognised affectations to bridge the human gaps made by its insincerities, or to discount the awkwardness of its artificially close contact. Some of them are sub-human. The small dog pretending he does not see the big dog practises the same affectation as his master afraid of a snub. Smoking probably starts as an affectation, and has a value as such. It creates an atmosphere of leisure. The indulging smoker at least looks at ease. Consequently when he feels least easy he takes out his case and offers a cigarette to the companion who makes him nervous. This affecting of an easy situation helps to make it easy in fact. In a group of smokers the magic circle is broken by the natural man who has not overcome his dislike for the filthy taste ; he feels out of it, as if he sat naked in presence of the clothed. Real friends, who do not need the affectation, indulge it from habit and partly because it symbolises friendly intercourse. We feel .

the same thing in eating together. If we want to become more familiar, we ask our acquaintance to a meal. Eating is not an affectation, nor need our invitation necessarily be affected. We make it so by tidying the drawing room, putting on a better frock than usual, seeing that the tray cloth has no spots and using the best china. We do these things much less to honour our guest than to arrange a pedestal for ourselves, and she gets even by arriving in her floweriest hat. When the acquaintance becomes a friend, the need for affecting virtues goes, and we treat her naturally. Though the quickest way of making friends is to treat people naturally from the first, we cannot always risk it, the quickest way of making enemies. It would be dreadful to invite a new acquaintance to an untidy room if she detested untidiness, or to feed her on everyday china if she despised cracks. We wait to catch her with a hole in her glove before we discard our simulated tidiness. The affected meet people cautiously, protecting themselves as they go.

Affectations though always based on weakness often give strength. The affected have to live up to their pretences. Proper pride, so called, depends on an affected conceit of ourselves. When pride keeps people from degraded or mean conduct, this means that they behave decently not to let their barrier down. By affecting a very high conceit they may force themselves to noble conduct. Courage, fortitude, generosity, truthfulness may easily grow out of it. But people who are too proud to tell lies, have not necessarily truthful natures. Their honesty, too weak to stand by itself, leans on an artificial strength. Such pride, though not itself a beautiful thing, has a real value as virtue's crutch.

When affectations strike deep they become insincerities. At best they are superficial insincerities. Real insincerity involves self-deception. By affectations we do not deceive ourselves; we intend or pretend to deceive others. Jane Austen's *Emma* makes a type for the sincere affected person, while many natural people are quite insincere. Sentimentality, a sort of insincerity,

is natural to a number. Some remain too natural to disguise their insincerities ; they are so simple that they deceive themselves easily. Where insincerity and affectation lodge together the result is chaff and emptiness, where naturalness and sincerity, corn without a husk. Hence the reason we expect geniuses to remain childlike and forget to grow up. In reality no one grows up ; we only pretend to, by affecting artificial habits of behaviour and of mind ; the whole thing is a sham. Sincerity of mind seems essential to genius, and as sincerity is a quality of character we expect it to appear in their behaviour as well as their work. We expect the genius to be too sincere for affectation, and indeed where we come on exceptions we tend to count them as such, or deny the genius rather than accept the affectation.

We might almost divide humanity into two types, natural men and affected. The affected have many virtues. The sparkle of life usually comes from them. They make the flash on the stream. For the uninterested, affectations are better than dope to relieve the tedium of life, and for the busy we may say that, affectations being a sort of game, all sincerity and no play makes for dullness. Other things being equal, the affected attract one more. They have more light and shade, more surprises, more inconsistencies. Their society is spicier than that of nature's men and women. They make the best acquaintances, the best people to play with. The natural type live at the level of reality, taking life seriously or living intensely. Among them we find the thoroughly dull, the oppressed, the obsessed, the enthusiast and the genius. They may remain natural not only from concentrating on other matters or for lack of spring in their nature, but often, because they dislike affectations for their unreality. They make the best people to work with, and the best friends. If the affected sparkle on life's current, the out-and-out sincere are the current. And when they do light up, it is not with a sparkle or glitter, but with fire.

KATHARINE M. WILSON

EDUCATION DOES NOT PAY

It may seem worth while, at this stage, to devote a few pages to trying to get a more exact idea of the time required for an improvement in the educational system to bear its fruits. If it is found that like the oak, it must grow for centuries before any benefit is realized, the propagandist must make his appeal on what amounts to purely religious grounds, as presumably they did who laid the foundations of the World's Great Temples, which were not designed to be completed for several generations. On the other hand, if a good deal is to be expected within a decade or two, it would be possible to appeal successfully, if not to entirely selfish instincts, at any rate to the personal interest that one generation takes in the next.

It will simplify matters somewhat to classify the results as follows :—

(a) The effects on the fortunes and happiness of the individual who is educated.

(b) The material benefits, however long deferred, that may be expected by the community at large.

(c) Beneficial effects, if any, on the evolution of the race.

It is very doubtful if there is anything at all to be noticed under (a). We have very high authority for supposing that he who increases knowledge, increases sorrow and not happiness. As for fortune, it will not be noticed that the most learned men were also the richest or even the most influential in any past age, and there is no reason to suppose that it will ever be otherwise. The devices by which one accumulates personal wealth are not very difficult to understand, not very interesting when they are understood. But though they are easy to understand, they are not easy to apply, and they are not made more interesting or more easy of application, by enlarging other activities of the mind; that is to say, by education. The hunger

for knowledge which gradually replaces all other desires as education proceeds, is a passion without joy, insatiable and never to be fulfilled. Those who have acquired most have realized nothing more satisfying than a conviction that all was yet to do.

The idea that the educated man earns his living more easily, and more pleasantly, than the uneducated one is a delusion of the uneducated mind. To resolve to make one's living by means of a superior education is to resolve to work for it. In general, it means to spend much more labour for a given return than the minimum that society demands. Moreover, the man who devotes a large proportion of his time and energy to the acquisition of knowledge, will naturally acquire less money than the man who gives all his time and energy to the acquisition of money, and less power than he who makes power and influence his sole pursuit. Education will not make his pursuit more effective in any appreciable degree. Money-making in itself is mere jugglery ; power and influence are over masses of men to the great majority of whom the educated man's ideas have no meaning whatever. The born leader of the ordinary man, is he who proclaims with the most energy and conviction the ordinary man's ideas : a feat quite incompatible with a liberal education.

Apart from this, the money-making devices having a scientific basis, are the syntheses of the work of many men each concentrating too intensely on some one narrow furrow to see the whole field of knowledge. Even if they could see the developing whole to which they are contributing, they would have no title to its profits and its credit, or if they had, would be without the skill to appropriate them. So much is this so that these powerful combinations must often wait for generations after they become possible before they are made. The Steam Railway is again the typical case. In the end the profit and the credit, go invariably to individuals whose contribution to the whole is quite negligible. A study with adequate data of the

history of any great invention or idea will always reveal it as the result of the labours of many men most of whom died without participating in any measure in the glory or the material awards ultimately resulting. Beyond the pleasure of more effective doing and thinking (and many would deny that there is any such pleasure) there is no perceptible advantage to the individual in being educated.

The tardiness of the benefit to the community at large is best illustrated by a few particulars taken partly from the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and partly from the common facts of human experience. According to the former (see "Turbines") the Hon. C. A. Parsons, inventor of the reaction steam turbine, was born in the year 1854. He was the son of the third Earl of Ross, and as he has since demonstrated, a man of first class intelligence, perseverance and energy, uniting in himself all those advantages of birth, social influence, and natural ability which may be supposed to accelerate a man's success in life. An average man of moderate influence in public affairs whom we will call the Councillor was then 35 years of age, that is to say, he had acquired his influence rather early in his career. We will take it that the former of these two men represents the average child over whose educational facilities the equally representative Councillor exerts influence. In doing so we are weighting the data rather heavily against the inevitable conclusion.

Parsons' education was completed in the year 1879 when he was twenty-five years old, the Councillor being then in his sixty-first year. So far the Councillor knew nothing of Parsons as an individual, but he had been a keen enthusiast and a hard worker on the legislative side of education for about a quarter of a century; that is to say ever since Parsons was born. None of the students who benefited by his activities could possibly have acquired success and fame earlier than Parsons did. He scored his first notable success within five years of the date we have assumed for the end of his education,



when he produced an experimental steam turbine of 6 horse power. He was then thirty years old, and the Councillor was sixty-five. The latter not being specially interested in Engineering did not hear of the turbine. As a matter of fact he was beginning to fail a little, and five years later having reached the full three score and ten, he died and went to his reward. The reader will be glad to know that he was a man of robust faith, and did *not* say on his death bed, "I have wasted the greater part of my life in watering a barren tree."

The first turbine steamer was launched in 1897 when the inventor's age was forty three. Few people outside the engineering profession took much interest in her. She came very soon to a disastrous end for which many blamed the turbine. In 1906 everyone talked turbines, and it was generally realized that a new discovery of first class importance had appeared in the world. That was the year of the first turbinéd battleship, the "*Dreadnought*." The Councillor had been dead full of years, if not of honour, for seventeen years. Only three years after came the *Mauretania* and the *Lusitania* and ever since a broadening stream till now there are turbines everywhere on sea and land alike.

It is not necessary to the above example, to prove that the inventor could not have succeeded without his education. Whether or no education contributes to success of this kind, it certainly could not give success in any shorter time. Moreover, most of the Councillor's active life would be spent in improving the education of men much younger and less able than one selected for comparison, and therefore much later successful. Nearly all his work would mature several decades later than the turbine did. The turbine is the case of all, the most flattering to the hopes of those who expect to see the results of their educational work within their own times. The following is more typical.

The first man after the Dark Ages of Europe to interest himself in electricity was one Doctor Gilbert of Colchester, who

was born in 1540 and died in 1603. He recorded quite correctly a considerable mass of data regarding electrical phenomena, but none of it had any apparent application in industry. The next notable name is Boyle, 1627-91. More additions to the science students' syllabus but still no practical results. Boyle's death was 88 years later than Gilbert's. The next notable name is that of Franklin, an American; 1706-90. There were other contemporary workers, in the same field, but his is the outstanding one. We are now 200 years after the death of Gilbert. A cow has been given a severe electric shock by means of a kite flown on a copper wire during a thunderstorm: otherwise there is no indication of a practical result. Three men whose names have been honoured in the modern terminology of the subject and who worked all their lives on the further extension of our knowledge of electricity, come next. They are Galvani, 1737-72, Volta, 1745-1827, Coulomb, 1736-1806. In addition to the shocked cow, we have now to record the remarkable behaviour of a dead frog subjected to a feeble electric current: otherwise, nothing. Last, but not least, we have Faraday, 1791-1867, who lived to see the telegraph, but not the telephone, nor the electrically driven vehicle. It was in the second half of the nineteenth century, eight generations after the death of Gilbert, that this long tended plant at last burst into blossom: so true it is that "Art is long, and Life is fleeting."

It is related of an old farmer, that hearing of a new University to be founded at a cost of a million pounds, he said, "It would do us a lot more good to spend the money on artificial manure." If "us" means only all those now living he was entirely right. The title of this article (on that assumption) is the bald statement of an incontestable fact. A forward educational policy can never be successfully supported by an appeal to purely selfish interests. It is dishonest to try to do so. Education is profitable to no one. The people who found a school or college never live to see any results. Teaching is a poorly paid profession with no prospects. It is an almost

unvariable feature of the biographies of men who acquired great wealth or power, that they either had little education, or that they were conspicuously third-rate scholars.

Of those who began to read this article there are probably now only a very few left and most even of these are no doubt thoroughly disgusted with what they regard as its perverse pessimism. It is, however, not impossible that one or two remain who are neither disgusted or discouraged, but rather inspired by the idea that they are working for something too great to be comprehended within the comparatively petty individual life. They may be interested to hear whether there is anything to be said under the third head, namely : What effect has education on the evolution of the race.

So far as our present knowledge goes, all the evidence is that, if there is any effect it must be very small. There is a school (at present a small minority) which holds that acquired characteristics (including one must suppose some of the results of education) are transmitted by ordinary generation. Others suggest that education must sooner or later tend to a wiser selection of parents, and thus indirectly to the elimination of those really unfit, but whose unfitness would not be obvious to an uneducated community ; and yet others who say that anything that adds to the momentary efficiency of a people more fitted for a less brutal age than for our own, may help them to survive, where otherwise they would perish. A fairly strong case may be made for assuming this to be so for large sections of the Indian people.

On the whole, however, the conclusion is that education can do very little for an individual or for a race not qualified by nature to receive it. The converse of this is that a race so qualified may be utterly submerged and uneducated for generations without losing its capacity. Neglect of education has as little effect on innate character as education has ; which is, at the worst, a consolation,

ENGLAND IN CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH LITERATURE

"England is a right good land, as I think of all lands best,
Set here at the world's end, far in the west."

Robert of Gloucester.

Maurice Hewlett, after a very active and scholarly life, as poet, novelist, critic, and British Museum official, died on the 13th of June, 1923. He is, however, and that in spite of his affection for mediaeval and Latin themes, so essentially of our own age and race that his name must surely be one of the first called to mind by the title of this brief essay. It may fairly be assumed that few modern writers have possessed such intimate knowledge of England and English literature as Hewlett. Certainly he has no contemporary rival as interpreter of the traditions, the loves and hates and apathies, the innate strength and the characteristic weaknesses of the English race. With that thoroughness which distinguishes all his best work and with his own clear-sighted scholarship, he sought for the key to twentieth century England in the remotest annals of her history, the fruit of ten years' wide reading and spasmodic composition being "The Song of the Plow." In the preface to this long, loosely-coupled chronicle the author sets forth his favourite theory, that

"By race the governed are British with a strong English mixture of blood: the governing class is by race even now preponderatingly Latin-French with a Scandinavian admixture: by tradition, breeding, and education it is entirely so. All the apparatus, all the science, all the circumstance of government are still Norman."

The poem tells the story of Hodge, the hireling ploughman from 1066 to 1916. To quote from the poet's "War Rimes,"

"This history sees the plain men on our planet
No better off than when God first began it."

Throughout the centuries Hodge and his children have risen unflinching every morning in the dark before dawn, driven the creaking plough a-field, breakfasted on bread and bacon under the hedge, done their backbending work, rested on Sundays, got themselves children, and so lived out their lives. Yet Hodge was by no means perpetually miserable; indeed, his stupidity and good fellowship were sufficient to prevent that; nor was his lot so bad that it might not have been worse. He harboured no sense of wrong against lordly invaders who thought fit to put him in harness that they might fatten on his yield. His children and their children's children have served their taskmasters patiently, year after year through the centuries, even as old Hodge did before them.

“Is it not his yet, this dear soil,
 Rich with his blood and sweat and tears?
 Warm with his love, quick with his toil,
 Where kings and their stewards come and go,
 And take his earnings as tribute royal,
 And suffer him keep a shilling or so?”

Hewlett was far from being a socialist. His later theories of life were mere variations on Rousseau and equally impracticable, in this commercial age, as the wildest dreams of that great Frenchman. Indeed, we must consider him, not as a sociologist, but as the artist he undoubtedly was. His love for England was very great, as was his admiration of the imperturbable Hodge, seen with his ploughing team,

“On the world's rim
 Creeping like the hands of a clock.”

In “The New Canterbury Tales” he revives that mediæval England which so appealed to him and of which he never tired. Even when he translates Homer, or is composing a tale of old Italy, one is always intensely aware of his nationality. The Tuscan lovers of his creation are such as one could have met,

three or four hundred years ago, anywhere in Devon, Gloucester, Wiltshire, Hampshire, or Kent,—lovers whose offspring keep the land to-day. In this patriotic tendency he, of course, follows in the direct tradition of Chaucer and Shakespeare, those two great anglicizers of foreign tales. As a friend of mine has written of him :

“Bury him deeply. An old God’s-acre
Well befits him. Although he drew
Tuscan beauty and praised its Maker
Well so doing, not less he knew
An English hearth, an English garth,
And Yeomen under an English yew.”

It is beyond my present scope to deal with such writers as Thomas Hardy, Charles Doughty, Hilaire Belloc, Arnold Bennett, and H. G. Wells—to name a few only of those contemporary writers who at some time or other have dealt with aspects of English life or breathed the spirit of England into their books. Each of these has his own individual axe to grind, and has, with the exception of Doughty and Hardy (who are too great for casual comment) laid no special claim to recognition either as interpreter of that simplicity and that fineness which are the best of England, or as portrayer of those enduring traits of country life which may yet in years to come see the decline of industrialism.

While serving with the Artists’ Rifles in 1917, Edward Thomas was killed. He had been educated at St. Paul’s School wherefrom he had passed as a scholar to Lincoln College. Early in life the writing of books became necessary to him as a means of making a livelihood, but it was not until he was farther advanced in years that he realised his gift for poetry. Thomas’ personality was more complex and striking than that of Hewlett, yet, like the older man, he too was a great lover of of the English countryside.

The tendency of critics to use writers as mere pegs whereon to hang their own pet theories of art is commonly observed and

justly deplored. It would be ridiculous, therefore, on my part to suggest that Thomas was a second Clare, a pipe through which the winds of England were wont to blow. He was so much more than that. His language is bare, his methods occasionally awkward, but always the thought is clear and profound. Striving to communicate his emotions truthfully, he never lapsed into sentimentality; avoiding prettiness, he came upon sinuosity and surprising beauty of expression. All his finest work was closely concerned with and inspired by England. He has nothing in common with those rhymesters who, in an age that we trust has gone for good, were wont to talk glibly of "vernal meads" and "feathered friends." In his poetry we find no "echoes clear of immortality," and little of the surfeiting fluency or coloured emptiness of Rupert Brooke. Any catch-penny bard will string you off a jingle of verses rhyming in "sea" and "tree," "rain" and "again," or sing you a song of blue skies and honeyed sentiment. But if your desire is to see deep into the secret ways of an English mind or wander in fancy by quiet hedgerows in middle March, you cannot do better than study Thomas. He is one of those rare writers (too rare, in our time) who can be read with greater enjoyment at the tenth sitting than at the first. His intellectual reaction when brought into contact with natural surroundings is well illustrated in his poem "Wind and Mist":

"Sixty miles of South Downs, at one glance.
Sometimes a man feels proud of them, as if
He had just created them with one mighty thought."

and again in "The Word":

"While perhaps I am thinking of the elder scent
That is like food, or while I am content
With the wild rose scent that is like memory."

He loved the concrete, the simple, immutable things of life that last through all ages in "that season of bliss unchangeable," as he himself has said.

Whenever circumstances allowed he tramped the country through, the call of his nature echoing very clearly the words of Professor Houseman :

“ Possess, as I possessed a season,
The counties I resign.”

By Oxfordshire hedges, along the roads of Wales, and on Sussex Downs, much wisdom was instilled into him. He once saw a butterfly alight on a stone. A trivial event, no doubt. Yet let us read his description of it and we may alter our opinion :

“ From aloft
He took the heat of the sun, and from below
On the hot stone he perched contented so,
As if never a cart would pass again
That way : as if I were the last of men
And he the first of insects to have earth
And sun together and to know their worth.”

In “ Sedge Warblers ” he speaks lovingly of “ the small brown birds ” who endlessly reiterate truths too foreign for human understanding, wisdom that “ no man learnt yet, in or out of school.”

True enough, his art is intensely personal, yet his very personality is bound up inseparably with English thought and emotion. His character was full of apparent inconsistencies. He could be proud, yet he was a man of genuine humility. His was such a reticent nature that we are at first apt to express surprise at his many great friendships. To his fellows he seemed very strong, and in the war, undeniably brave—yet he himself knew his lack of self-sufficiency and realised his own fundamental weakness. His poems are, as most good poetry is, permeated with unavoidable melancholy ; yet his humour was too strong for sentimentality ever to render the pangs of creation vain. No other country than England could possibly have bred the particular kind of talent that Thomas gave us.

The two writers of whom I have written are conspicuous in these days of cheap literary sensationalism for their complete indifference to social success and the amenities of the town. One cannot discover the intimate life of a nation in its ball-rooms. Lady Margherita has lost her pearls in the vestibule of her London hotel. Might not that lurid catastrophe have taken place with equal misfortune in Vienna or Venezuela? Life is always more real when there is work in it, and struggling, and tears. It is merely because they are uninteresting people that we are so bored by the spoilt children of luxury. How we are weary of Mr. Aldous Huxley's limply lascivious puppets, and how unimaginable a world inhabited solely by the facile creations of Mr. Michael Arlen. He who would study England must first learn of her from those rare spirits who have watched her and loved her, and grown to understand.

Narrowing our confines to London, we may note a contemporary novelist, once popular but now somewhat out of favour, who, whatever his faults in characterisation and story-telling, is nevertheless well worth recommending to those who know not London. He is Mr. H. C. Compton Mackenzie. I recall few books with the power of reviving old memories in me so surely as "Sinister Street" and "Carnival." Michael Fane, I reluctantly admit, almost reduced me to tears, but the atmosphere of these novels is unmistakable. What reader who knows Chelsea Reach can fail to see rain shining on the lamp-lit parapets or to feel the comfortable quiet of Cheyne Walk when he is told of Michael's residence in Chelsea?

In the pages of Mr. Thomas Burke we find an impossibly grim, sin-shadowed London. His heroes "hang-out" in Limehouse or are to be found prowling around Dockland at midnight. Yet they reveal to us with unimpeachable accuracy much of the squalor, the merriment, and the omnipresent irony of the conditions around them. Mr. Burke has drawn his materials from life itself and knows, despite the bizarre adventures of his puppets, the basic truth of the fantastic tales he tells us.

Mr. Stephen Graham is of a vastly different calibre; he has always been in deep sympathy with, and is the self-chosen spokesman of, the poor. "Under-London" is the quietly effective history of a little group of London boys from their earliest schooldays to the time of their faring forth into the World.

"The boy who was meant to be an explorer—became a commercial traveller. The boy who was meant to be an engineer—to-day sells machinery and spare parts. One boy had the pluck to take great risk—he is a clerk in an insurance office. And the hero, the hundred-per cent. boy, sits in Embankment Buildings. There is a tide which leads to fortune, but he sits watching on the Embankment, and never a ship comes in or sails beyond those horizon-bridges to take him to the world."

The Englishman is a patient fellow, and though it may never be his lot to echo the words of William Morris:

"But lo, the old inn, and the lights and the fire,
And the fiddler's old tune and the shuffling of feet;
Soon for us shall be quiet and rest and desire,
And to-morrow's uprising to deeds shall be sweet,"

yet he will go on with his penmanship or his ploughing, while nations wax and wane, never wholly dejected though rather apt to grumble, always enjoying his meagre annual holidays to the full; and so living, in short, much the same life all round as simple old Father Hodge before him.

F. V. WELLS

DREAMING

I have been dreaming,
Dreaming of thee...
A snow-breasted woman
Under a tree.
Where fields were a-flutter
With crimson and gold,
When Love was a story
Yet to be told.
Streamlets were singing
Away on a hill,
Flaming with rose-fire
And bright daffodil.
When eyes...lips...and bosom,
Swam in mine eyes,
Could I remember ..
And show no surprise ?
When fingers were clutching
Holding me close,
When sweet lips surrendered
The passion that rose.
Fierce sunbeams flinging
Gold midst the trees,
Thrushes...mad Love-birds...
In song at our knees !
Eyes to eyes shining,
Lips all afraid,
Love in its glory,
A man and a maid !
Oh ! we were happy
That day in June,
But life has its sorrows...
We parted at noon !
You may forget, Dear,
And show no surprise,
But I shall remember
O ! Beautiful Eyes !

LELAND J. BERRY

PRESENT TENDENCY OF TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY

In discussing the foreign policy of a nation, it is imperative to keep in mind the internal condition of the country which always affects its foreign relations in the same way as the world situation affects a nation's internal conditions. Thus the present tendency of Turkish Foreign Policy is the expression of the internal condition of Turkey and the attitude of the Powers towards the Ottoman Republic.

The attitude of the Western Powers towards the Ottoman Empire, for more than a century, was to expel the Turks from Europe and to appropriate Turkish possessions in Europe as well as in Africa and Asia amongst themselves in various ways. It was the jealousy of the Western Powers that prevented them from accomplishing it. This attitude of the Western Powers created a feeling among the Turkish patriots that they should concentrate their efforts to strengthen Turkish Power so that it would be able to withstand all attack or pressure from outside. Thus to Turkish patriots it became evident that for the self-preservation of the Turkish State and National Independence thorough-going changes were required in the internal condition and administration of Turkey. This spirit was the foundation of the revolutionary movement in Turkey before and during the regime of the late Sultan Abdul Hamid. Therefore one may say that the movement for Turkish Revolution, under the leadership of the Young Turks was a movement for Turkish self-defence, national assertion and national regeneration.

When a ruler of a country and his advisers make a common cause with the patriots of the country to bring about a change in the national administration for the progress of the people, then the desired Revolution takes place without blood-shed and within a very short space of time. This is so because the best efforts of the patriots, in such favourable circumstances, can

be used for constructive purposes and not in combating oppositions from within and without. The Revolution in Japan under the enlightened Emperor Meiji is the classic example of this. Furthermore the progressive, political, social and economic revolutions (in a peaceful way) which are taking place in Afghanistan under the leadership of His Majesty King Amanullah confirm the above-mentioned theory. Even in India we find a progressive ruler like the Maharajah of Mysore, under the most adverse circumstances of direct and alien control, has brought about admirable changes for the benefit of the people. Unfortunately for Turkey, the Young Turks (like the Young Persians and Young Chinese) had to contend with rulers who were less anxious to promote the welfare of the people than to serve their own personal ambitions. The Young Turks found in Abdul Hamid a ruler determined to crush the Young Turk Movement at any cost and to establish his autocratic rule on a firmer basis, with external support and co-operation of reactionaries within the Ottoman Empire.

To crush the Young Turk Movement and to maintain his own absolute rule on a firmer footing, Abdul Hamid developed a Foreign Policy for Turkey which was for a time very effective. The outstanding features of Abdul Hamid's Foreign Policy were: (1) encouragement of the Pan-Islamic movement, not only within the Ottoman Empire in Europe, Africa and Asia, but all over the world; (2) playing upon the jealousies of the Western Powers in every possible way; and (3) encouraging German penetration of Turkey and seeking German co-operation in building up a strong army.

It is not always very easy to abandon the course of Foreign Policy of a country which has been pursued for a certain length of time, because by pursuing a certain course in international relations a nation becomes so involved in commitments that it becomes somewhat difficult for it to disentangle itself in spite of serious efforts. So when the Young Turks came into power, after the overthrow of Abdul Hamid, although they followed a

different path regarding the internal reforms of the country, they could not at once abandon the abovementioned three cardinal principles of Abdul Hamid's Foreign Policy. Here it may be remarked that *an internal Revolution does not always mean a "change in the foreign policy of a country."*

The Western Powers extended nominal moral support to the Young Turks but they were at heart opposed to a strong Turkey. Thus to put obstacles in the way of internal reforms and reconstruction of Turkey, they directly and indirectly attacked the integrity of the Ottoman Empire in various ways—annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Turco-Italian War and the Balkan Wars—in violation of the Treaty of Berlin (1878). *Actual "isolation of Turkey in World Politics" was the real cause of the loss of Ottoman territories in Africa and Europe by these Wars.* The Triple Entente, jealous of an increase of German influence in Turkey, especially in Asiatic Turkey, was determined to cripple Turkey and convinced the Young Turks that Germany and Austria were not in a position to extend their aid to Turkey in her serious difficulties.

Just before the World War, the Young Turks followed two cardinal principles in their relations with the outside world :—(1) that Turkey should have an offensive and defensive alliance with a group of Western Powers so that she would not find herself completely isolated in World Politics, but, on the contrary, would receive support from her allies in case of an attack ; and (2) that Turkey should get rid of the so-called "capitulations" which hindered her in every move for internal and administrative reforms of the country. The Young Turks continued to adhere to the policy of Pan-Islamism for the sole purpose of securing support of the Moslem World to gain the objects mentioned above.

It is generally asserted by those who are not well informed in the working of the Turkish Foreign Policy, before the World War, that the Young Turks were pro-German. But the fact was that these Turkish patriots were neither pro-German nor pro-English;

they were pro-Turkish in the broadest sense of the term. They were favourably inclined to Germany because they saw that from the geographical position of the German Empire, as well as the then existing World conditions, the German Government could not afford to start on the adventure of annexing a part of the Ottoman Empire. But when Germany could not stop Austria from annexing Herzegovina and Bosnia (which was carried out against the sanction of Germany but through a secret Russo-Austrian understanding), and later on Austria and Germany failed to check Italy (one of the partners of the Triple Alliance) from taking the aggressive against Turkey, some of the Young Turk statesmen became dubious of the value of German friendship. They were willing to sign an alliance with the Triple Entente group (especially with France and Great Britain) if the latter could give them a guaranty of support against possible Russian attack against Turkey. The late Djamal Pasha's Memoirs makes it definitely clear that as France and England were committed to support Russia in annexing certain parts of the Ottoman Empire and thus could not give any guaranty for the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire, the only alternative left to the Young Turk statesmen to adopt was the conclusion of an offensive and defensive alliance with Germany on condition that the latter renounced her rights of "capitulations."

As a logical consequence of the Pan-Islamic policy, the Young Turks declared "Jihad or Holy War" of the Islamic World against the Entente. To be fair to the Turkish statesmen, it should be recorded that they did not expect much from this move. They thought it might create certain embarrassments to the Entente Powers. But British support to the cause of the Arab Revolt and French assistance to the Syrians more than neutralised "the Jihad move." *It made the Young Turks fully realise the fact that the urge of political and economic interests are far more powerful than religious fanaticism. It also made them realise that support from a group of Western*

Powers is more valuable than the dubious aid of the Islamic World. Therefore when the Turkish patriots under the leadership of Mustafa Kamal Pasha defied the Versailles Treaty, they were not concerned about Pan-Islamic support. But they concentrated their efforts to secure Russian and French support against the Greeks and the British. With success in the battle-fields and the Lussan Conference, Turkish patriots not only secured their national independence but removed the existing drawbacks of the "Capitulations."

Establishment of a republic and abolition of the Khalifate by the Young Turks have a special significance in Turkey's present foreign policy. It means that Turkey has given up the ambition of making herself as the leader of the Pan-Islamic movement. *Any programme of Pan-Islamism is opposed to the interests of France, Russia, Italy as well as Great Britain; because these colonial Powers have millions of Moslem subjects and if Turkey actively engaged herself in aiding the movement for liberation of the enslaved Moslem peoples, she could never secure support from any of these Powers. Impotent and subjugated Moslem peoples were of no value to Turkey; and Turkish statesmen had to think first of Turkish independence and to look for support among free and independent nations which had the power to aid her in times of difficulty.*

Since the Young Turk Revolution, for about twenty years the Turkish nation had to carry on continued wars just to preserve its existence. Turkey needs peace and thus opportunity to re-organise the country on a sounder basis. She can secure peace and security for herself by making herself a factor in world politics and at the same time making it clear to all nations that the Turkish people are anxious to follow a policy of peace, although they are ready to fight to the last to maintain their national independence.

Turkish statesmen are thus pursuing a "pro-Turkish" and independent foreign policy of establishing cordial relations with all Powers which are interested in her programme of Turkish

independence and peace. This attitude of Turkish statesmen does not allow them to be blindly "pro-Russian," "pro-French," "pro-Italian," "pro-English," or even "pro-Asian." Turkey has signed a neutrality treaty with the Government of Soviet Russia, *but Turkish statesmen refuse to put all their diplomatic eggs in the Russian basket.* That very reason has prompted them to sign special agreements and alliances with Afghanistan and Persia. Turkey has established very cordial and close relations with Afghanistan, Persia and Russia, but this fact does not mean she is following a policy hostile to other powers. The signing of the Turco-Italian neutrality treaty and Turkish efforts to establish cordial relations with Greece show that Turkish statesmen are anxious to promote peace in and around the Mediterranean zone.

The following statement of Mahmud Bey, Deputy for Seerd and Government spokesman on foreign affairs, as reported from Constantinople, June 22, by the special correspondent of the *London Times*, gives a very clear explanation of Turkish Foreign Policy :—

"The pacts recently concluded with Italy and Afghanistan have been followed by a protocol with Persia (signed in Teheran on June 15). It may be expected that the negotiations which have been long proceeding in Angora between Turkey and Persia concerning frontier questions will now soon be brought to a satisfactory conclusion. It is necessary to point out that the fact that Turkey maintains the friendliest relations with Russia, Persia and Afghanistan does not signify that she is pursuing a special and independent policy in the Orient. The treaty which has been concluded with Italy should serve to dispel any such idea. Further, with the probable early conclusion of a Turco-Greek pact, the Turkish-Greek-Italian *rapprochement* will greatly contribute to security in the Mediterranean, just in the same way that the Turkish-Persian-Afghan front is important in so far as the security and defence of the Orient are concerned."

Furthermore, it has been practically reported from Athens as well as Vienna, although unconfirmed by Turkish authorities, that during the recent visit of Rushdi Bey, the Turkish Foreign Minister, to Geneva, negotiations for a commercial treaty and treaty of friendship between Great Britain and Turkey have been started. If Turkey can settle her outstanding troubles with Greece and with the existing Italo-Turkish Neutrality Treaty, it will not be very difficult for Turkey to come to a friendly understanding with Great Britain. Efforts to secure American support will further aid Turkey internationally. Turkey is cultivating friendly relations with some of the Balkan States, especially Hungary; and at the same time Turkey is not unmindful of establishing close friendship with Japan and China as well as Germany.

Turkish statesmen believe in Asian Independence, but they do not believe that it can be accomplished through Pan-Islamism or entirely through Turkish agitation or aid. Turkish statesmen sympathise with the subject peoples or oppressed nationalities, but they know that the thing that counts the most in the present state of evolution of the Turkish Republic is the friendship of the powerful nations and they are not willing to antagonise powerful Western nations simply to please the "oppressed peoples" who are not willing to fight for their own national independence.

In short, Turkey has abandoned the fruitless Pan-Islamic policy and is pursuing the policy of enlightened peace with all nations which may not stand in the way of Turkish national integrity and aspirations.

TARAKNATH DAS

POEMS OF INDIA

I Back to India.

Out in the Bay, the red-sailed fishing-boats
Trail phosphorescent streamers in their wake
At evening, and flying-fishes flutter
Above the blue-green waves like sprites at play.
Out in the Bay, the golden moon lights up
A fairy pathway to the dreaming shores
Where low dark palms etch lacey edges on
The purple breast of star-enspangled sky.
Out in the Bay, I listen and hear the
Drums, throbbing the rhythm of India's old
Familiar songs, calling me back again
To all the bitter-sweet of tropic life.
Out in the Bay, a thrill comes to my heart
As one who answers to a magic spell
And follows blindly in a secret urge
To taste the glamour of the East once more.

II. Stevedore Coolies.

When steamers slowly come to rest
In busy docks, on India-side,
And solid earth is reached at last,
Small brown men clamber, like a tide
Of teeming ants, along the quay.
Loud-voiced and cheerful stevedores they,
In scanty loin-cloths, turbanded
In white, all ready for the fray.
Amazed, we watch them work and sing,
Undaunted by the tropic sun,

Oblivious of the stranger stares,
They toil until their work is done.
Their world is India, and their part
In her vast life is labour's call;
But humble children of the soil,
Yet is their strength and brawn not all
They know of her;—for when the night
Is come, with leisured hours of peace,
Perchance in dreams they dwell with Kings
And know all joys, in sleep's release.

III. *The Taj Mahal Hotel.*

Great white caravanserai,
Looking outward towards the Bay,
Pillared and latticed and cool,
We come to you, all weary, worn,
And travel-stained, from the sea;
The travellers, the strangers,
To India's spacious gate-way.
Great white marbled porticos,
Shadowed and so inviting,
With growing palms and wicker,
And the cheerful clink of ice
On frosted glasses, we gathered,
Men and women from the earth's
Far ends, to rest in your broad arms.
Great white caravanserai,
I shall always think of you,
Recalling those early years
When I too came from the sea
And my own dear and distant home
Out-bound on a perilous quest
Of unknown life in alien lands.

IV. On Malabar Hill.

Rising in flowered-terraces,
Above the crescent of the Bay,
Climbs verdant Hill of Malabar,
In tropic blossom, bright and gay.
In graceful silhouette, palm-clad,
There far below us, lies the town,
All boldly etched against the sky
From Malabar, where we look down.
How lovely, dreaming in the sun,
Is this fair scene beneath our eyes,
And yet death stalks on Malabar
Grim, though hid in fair disguise.
In palm-trees vultures stand and wait
The gruesome feast from Towers dark
Where dead are laid, on Malabar,
And bones are picked, all white and stark.
A garden blooms upon the Hill
Where many fragrant flowers are,
There one may walk and muse on life,
Or death, 'tis one, on Malabar!

LILY S. ANDERSON

CHRISTINA FORBES

The Triangle met every Sunday, and generally the rendezvous was at my aunt's house in Richmond. That was when we did not turn a restaurant into a tryst. Both the Richmond house and the restaurant had many charms of their own. At Richmond we did too much of Society gossip and in the restaurant we ate more than we talked. And very often after the restaurants there followed the Sunday Albert Hall Concerts. The Triangle consisted of my aunt, Mary a great friend of ours, and myself. The Triangle endeavoured to outdo each other in talking, so the result was that we all three, ensemble, talked. On this particular Sunday my aunt and myself were talking and anticipating Mary's arrival any moment. At length we saw the tall figure of Mary walking on the pavement. She was dressed in a very chic pale blue French hat, which had innumerable black feathers and her slim figure was clad in a dark blue cloak. She saw us and I expect my arriving there first excited her to such an extent that she actually entered the house through the left gate on which was painted in big white letters: "Tradesmen's Entrance."

After the Triangle was settled down my aunt, with the abrupt way she had, said to Mary—

"I was very sorry to hear from you about Christina Forbes. But before I got your letter I read about her in the papers. It was all terribly sad."

I stared at my aunt and then at Mary. What was all this about Christina Forbes? Had anything happened to her? Why, I met the girl only the other day at Chorley Wood when Mary and Christina made me comfortable and fed me so well, that with our usual Society gossip I had spent a most happy day at Chorley Wood. After luncheon we had ambled out into the woods and had plucked violets—lovely, delicate violets.

There were carpets of them in the woods. And we had taken snapshots and everything we did on that day at Chorley Wood seemed to be very jolly and unsophisticated. I can define the nature of Christina Forbes with two adjectives. She was excessively sensitive and she was very prudish. She was prudish in this way. She liked everything that was proper. I do not know what she meant by the word "proper." I expect she meant everything that was "Victorian." And so, of course, to please her we tried and behaved as if we were in the eighties and as if we were old people come out to holiday at Chorley Wood. I met Christina Forbes for the first and the last time at Chorley Wood. She was living with Mary for the whole summer. Mary met me at the little wooden station and gave me a gist of her friend's characteristics and nature.

That day I therefore could not entertain Mary with my risqué stories but told her a few in the interim when we walked from the station to the little cottage. Christina Forbes was a dainty, little, fairhaired girl. She had passed a dentist's examination and I believe after that Summer she contemplated setting up by herself. She shared the cottage with Mary for it was a sort of a holiday for her, though every morning she took the train to Baker Street and worked somewhere in Town with a dentist. Mary gave me to understand that Christina Forbes did not get on with her parents. I think that is the greatest tragedy of life—there are so many parents who do not understand their children and so, of course, the entire life is a long chain of unhappiness for both parties. I believe Mary had then told me that Christina's mother was ever worrying her for money. And the slightest mental pain and worry upset Christina—tremendously as she was so sensitive. And if one happened to say anything that was risqué she went red all over and blushed so much that you thought she would catch fire at once!.....So when I heard on that Sunday at Richmond that something had happened to Christina I turned to my aunt and Mary!

"What has happened to Christina Forbes?"

They were both silent and looked at each other. Then my aunt told me:

"She is dead."

"Good God! dead! Quite hale and hearty only the other day at Chorley Wood! When did she die?"

"You forget that it is over a month since your visit to Chorley Wood," Mary said.

"Where did she die?"

"In a boarding house, sometime during the last week."

"Why did you not let me know?" I asked Mary.

Her jovial face now was so sad and she looked most wistful.

"I could not let you know. I was so upset," she spoke slowly.

We did not speak much. I could not speak. It was so awful. She was so full of hopes and she had all the impetuosity of youth. She was sure she would do well and then she had said she need not live with her people. She would have a cottage in the country and now—she was dead.

The luncheon that Sunday was what I call a 'mock' lunch. We tried to laugh and talk but our laughter and conversation to-day was feeble. After lunch my aunt left us alone and retired for her usual afternoon nap. Mary and myself were sitting out in the Italian loggia and we watched the sunbeams kiss the jade green of the lawns. I faced Mary and asked her deliberately—

"How did Christina Forbes die?"

Mary was silent. She did not speak.

"How did she die?" I again asked, this time more firmly.

Mary turned round to me, "Need you know?"

"Yes."

"Adi, Christina Forbes killed herself."

"God! Why did she do that?"

"She was worried—very worried. You know how sensitive she was. She felt she could not absolutely live any longer as her mother always harassed her. I pitied

her with all my heart and thought that these family troubles would gradually kill Christina. At length I set out for her boarding house. I went in. My heart beat wildly and I managed to ask the porter who the lady was that had killed herself.

‘Miss Forbes is her name, Ma’am.’

I rushed out of the house as if I had seen the dead body of Christina Forbes in all its horror. There was the post mortem. How dreadful it all sounded! The living with their charity insult the dead by declaring that a person is of unsound mind if suicide is committed. She had made her will by which she gave everything she died possessed of—clothes, books and money—to her sister. The doctor and Christina Forbes were all alone in the room. I felt I was going mad and every evening I walked up and down on the pavements for hours until I felt I did not know my own self.”

Mary and I faced each other. We were silent.

ADI K. SETT

THE CLOUDS

I would like to float with you in the skyey regions menacing the glory of the planetary system. From my window I see the July sky and gaze at the wild beauty and the natural spontaneity of your movement. You come swimming from afar and stop where you please. You romp about in the vast expanse of infinite space. At your appearance nature attires herself in her richest robes. She waits with anxious concern for your arrival. All noise is hushed into silence and she listens with close attention to the hurried footsteps of your approach. When you come tumbling upon her, she bows in low obeisance and holds on her head the liquid dust of your holy feet.

Your birth and dissolution alike are still a mystery to me. I have heard of the sea in her dalliance with the solar rays giving birth to you. The sun out of natural affection for his offspring retires from his kingdom, leaving the upper world for your merriment. Your play makes the sleepless winds come out of their sheltering caves and set up a glorious mirth. Poor mortals look at your sport with bewilderment. The swift and overpowering brilliance of the 'lightning followed by deafening thunder-claps with the howling screams of the winds bespeak the wild exuberance of your delight. At your sight the sea swells up with natural pride and calls you in endearing terms by throwing up mighty columns of water. Like a sportive child, feeling the warmth of new life in every limb, you try to elude her fingers at first but her insistent persuasion brings you to her bosom.

No doubt your presence in the sky dims our mortal vision and a sinning heart trembles with fear at the loud crash of your thunderous peals. For a time you seem to shake the very foundations of the hoary-headed mountains. But when your pent-up force is exhausted you disappear filling me with as

much astonishment as when you appear with the grand paraphernalia of thunder, lightning and rain.

Immediately after you pass away the blue vault of the heaven appears bluer, the bright radiance of the planets shine brighter, the serene outlook of nature becomes serener and I breathe a purer and cooler atmosphere. The majestic display of your power mocks the dull pomp of our life. To me you are the symbol of the evanescence of this life with its transient glories.

RASRANJAN BASU

NIGHT-THOUGHTS

Out of the star-lit silence
Sleep falls like a cloak,
Wrapped in a silver raiment
And the scent of blue wood smoke.
Beautiful dream-thoughts linger,
Wonderful, deathless things,
Flying across my vision
On joyous ecstatic wings.
Prayers that I kneel to murmur
May I always have strength to keep
For my prayers are but faithful love-thoughts
Of thee, 'ere I fall asleep.

LELAND J. BERRY

DEVELOPMENT OF NEGRO POETRY

" Yet do I marvel at this curious thing :
To make a poet black, and bid him sing !"

Countee Cullen.

It is a far cry from the classical tradition of Phillis Wheatley to the realistic modernism of Langston Hughes. The former was strongly influenced by Pope ; the latter is influenced by himself as representing the Negro race with its undercurrent of protest. Phillis Wheatley was an African who had the good fortune to be adopted by the family to whom she was sold in 1761. She was virtually free even to the extent of making a trip to London where she was patronised by the Countess of Huntingdon. She is usually regarded as the *doyen* of Negro poetry, her predecessor, Jupiter Hammon, a slave, having rarely, though ambitious enough, risen above doggerel. Pope in Ep. 4 to the Earl of Burlington says :—

" Bid harbours open, public ways extend,
Bid temples, worthier of the God ascend;
Bid the broad arch the dangerous flood contain,
The mole projected break the roaring main;
Back to his bounds their subject sea command,
And roll obedient rivers through the land;
These honours, Peace to happy Britain brings,
These are imperial works and worthy kings."

And Phillis Wheatley :—

" For now kind heaven, indulgent to our prayer;
In smiling peace resolves the din of war.
Fixed in Columbia her illustrious line,
And bids in thee her future council shine.
To every realm her portals opened wide,
Receives from each the full commercial tide.

Each art and science now with rising charms,
 Th' expanding heart with emulation warms.
 E'en Great Britannia sees with dread surprise,
 And from the dazzling splendors turns her eyes."

Comment is needless ; but this extract is of interest as showing a conscientious effort to emulate an eighteenth century English poet, combined with an optimistic attitude of thanksgiving for a pacific atmosphere. Phillis Wheatley died in 1784 and George M. Horton, who composed poetry verbally before he could write (1829-65) also fell under the influence of Pope. Both he and Phillis Wheatley showed a religious strain in their work and Horton was largely inspired by Wesley :—

" Creation fired my tongue !
 Nature thy anthems raise ;
 And spread the universal song
 Of thy Creator's praise."

James Madison Bell, a friend of John Brown, was an eloquent speaker and reader. Frances E. W. Harper voices, the eternal lament

" All that my yearning spirit craves,
 Is bury me not in a land of slaves."

We come, then, to the most famous of all Negro poets, Paul Laurence Dunbar, who fell into " the last dear sleep whose soft embrace is balm " (in 1906), when only thirty-four years of age, a victim of tuberculosis. He, too, visited England in 1897 and, in his own country, was fortunate in the enjoyment of the interest and assistance of prominent literary men. He has a beautiful lyric quality

" Dream on, for dreams are sweet :
 Do not awaken !
 Dream on, and at thy feet
 Pomegranates shall be shaken.
 The wind is soft above,
 The shadows umber.
 (There is a dream called Love.)
 Take thou the fullest slumber !"

And the lift of "Love's Phases" is like the flitting rhythm of a Red Admiral in summer sunshine

" Love hath the wings of the butterfly,
Oh, clasp him but gently,
Pausing and dipping and fluttering by
Inconsequently.
Stir not his poise with the breath of a sigh;
Love hath the wings of the butterfly."

In sterner style is his "Ode to Ethiopia"—

" Be proud, my Race, in mind and soul,
Thy name is writ on Glory's scroll
In characters of fire.
High 'mid the clouds of Fame's bright sky
Thy banner's blazoned folds now fly,
And truth shall lift thee higher."

Compare this with Countee Cullen's

" What is Africa to me:
Copper sun or scarlet sea,
Jungle star or jungle track,
Strong bronzed men, or regal black
Women from whose loins I sprang
When the birds of Even sang?
One three centuries removed
From the scenes his father loved,
Spicy grove, cinnamon tree,
What is Africa to me?"

and its ensuing confession of inability to conform inwardly to the conventions of civilization, though following them outwardly. Whether Dunbar had also at heart a racially antagonistic feeling is a debatable point. Outwardly, at all events, he was an optimist with a strong sense of humour, following the truth of his own saying that "a moan is the finest of foils for laughter." His dialect poems are a joy for ever, more popular, I believe, in America than his serious work. "When Lucy Backslid," "Temptation," "Angelina," "Expectation"

are superb examples of that type of humour (peculiar to the Negro race) which even years of slavery failed to kill among his countrymen—

“ Y’ ought to hyeah dat gal a-wa’blin’,
Robins, la’ks, an’ all dem things,
Heish dey moufs, an’ hides dey faces
When Malindy sings.”

Countee Cullen is evidently of the opinion that Dunbar’s humour was but a cloak of pride for a broken heart. Hear his epitaph

“ Born of the sorrowful of heart,
Mirth was a crown upon his head;
Pride kept his twisted lips apart
In jest, to hide a heart that bled.”

George Marion McClellan’s “ Gay Hollyhocks with Flaming Bells ” conveys an atmosphere which might be that of the English countryside—

“ Sweet-scented winds move inward from the shore,
Blythe is the air of June with silken gleams,
My roving fancy treads at will once more
The golden Path of dreams.”

The eternal cry of the older generation is voiced by Daniel Webster Davis in “ Stickin’ to de Hoe ” from his “ Weh Down Souf ”

“ Dar’s mighty things a-gwine on,
Sense de days when I wuz young,
An’ folks don’t do us dey did once,
Sense dese new times is kum ;.....”

The Rev. Charles R. Dinkins is an advocate for international unity.

“ ...We must share the rights of others,
Dwelling here as kin with kin,
We are black, but we are brothers ;
We are black, but we are men.”

James Mord Allen, a boilermaker by trade, has a calm humour that is admirable. He is excellent in both dialect and more serious poetry. "The Devil and Sis' Viney," an account of the struggle between the flesh and the spirit epitomised under the shapes of St. Paul, and Satan in a village pastor, has a quietly humorous quality that belies irreverence. This theme of the Negro who has "Got 'ligion," seems to be a favourite one with many Negro poets. One of Allen's best dialect poems is "When the Fish begin to Bite"—

"Little kittens in de coal-house ;
 Little chickens in de lot ;
 Greens er comin' in de medder ;
 Sun er shinin' nyelly hot ;
 Gals er wearin' lawn and gingham,
 Lookin' right down scar'lous good,
 Jes' kain't keep f'um actin' frisky ;
 Spring's done hit de neighborhood."

William Stanley Braithwaite is "captive to a dream," an optimistic idealist, a competent critic, and withal somewhat of a mystic. He is striving to gain

"The road that joins the Future and the Past,
 Where I can reach the Ending and Beginning"

Francis Thompson's "...hid battlements of Eternity." Braithwaite's groping after Eternity is born of a definite realization of the ephemeral nature of worldly things.

"This earth is but a semblance and a form
 An apparition poised in boundless space."

Many poets have discovered ethereality but Braithwaite's dreams are woven on a flexible loom that allows for the gentle undulation of his poetic threads of thought. At times he drowns with his head in Nature's lap

"Long drawn, the cool, green shadows
 Steal o'er the lake's wam breast,
 And the ancient silence follows
 The burning sun to rest."

The calm of a thousand summers,
 And dreams of countless Junes,
 Return when the lake-wind murmurs
 Thro' golden August noons."

Again he is a sprightly Pan O'dreams, chasing the cycle of the years, in his very swiftness a counterblast to Hamlet's "petty pace,"

"To-day and to-morrow, and the days that come after,
 Springtime and summer and two seasons more ;
 The night full of tears and the day full of laughter,
 And dreams that come in and go out of the door."

Both Joseph Seaman Cotter, Senior, and Joseph Seaman Cotter, Junior, produced some good work. Cotter, Junior, had he not died young (in 1919, aged 24) would probably have been a more brilliant poet than his father. He is notable as being the author of a free-verse poem "And What Shall You Say," free-verse being somewhat of a rarity in Negro poetry. He has a happy way with similes. Rain is described as "slender silvery drum-sticks" and in the particular little poem from which I quote, there is an echo of the message-drums of Africa that seems to beat a wild tattoo in one's brain.

Cotter, Senior, founded the Coleridge-Taylor School. His "Destiny," in memory of his son is pathetically simple and simply pathetic.

"O my way and thy way
 And life's joy and wonder,
 And thy day and my day
 Are cloven asunder."

He protests that the Negro "does not ask to clog the wheels of state." Dunbar in his "Death Song" expressed a wish

(which, I believe, was carried out as nearly as was possible) that they should

“ Lay me down beneaf de willers in de grass,
 Whah de branch’ll go a-singin’ as it pass.
 Fu’ I t’ink de las’ long res’
 Gwine to soothe my sperrit bes’
 Ef I’s layin’ ’mong de t’ings I’s allus knowed.”

Similarly Fenton Johnson in his “ When I Die ”—

“ When I die my song shall be,
 Crooning of the summer breeze ;
 When I die my shroud shall be
 Leaves plucked from the maple trees ;
 On a couch as green as moss
 And a bed as soft as down,
 I shall sleep, and dream my dream
 Of a poet’s laurel crown.”

Benjamin Griffith Brawley, an idealist who sees beyond the strife and striving, ‘ And the hate of man for man,’ eulogises Chaucer “ An old man writing in a book of dreams.”

Many of these poets have been ministers or newspaper-writers, sometimes both in turn. Most of them have had a varied career which has included dish-washing, work as elevator-boys, educators, cigar and cigarette-makers, social workers, etc. James Weldon Johnson, who has recently published his “ Auto-biography of an Ex-coloured Man,” was under the impression as a child that he was white, till an incident at school enlightened him. Thenceforth his attitude changed, yet he is not aggressively racial. His outlook is temperately balanced, but he cannot forget the importation of native labour and its results.

“ This land is ours by right of birth,
 This land is ours by right of toil ;
 We helped to turn its virgin earth,
 Our sweat is in its fruitful soil.”

Leslie Pinckney Hill sets a creed of four commandments for his compatriots

" We will not hate

... ..

We will not cease to laugh and multiply

... ..

We will not use the ancient carnal tools

... ..

We will not waver in our loyalty."

He, too, has his dream. The Negro, in fact, for all his flashing smile, his flashy clothes, his eternal outward optimism, is a dreamer at heart ; or should one say a brooder? There lies in his eyes, when in repose, a slumbrous quality like the darkness of the sky that preludes thunder. It is the heritage of ancestors, naked and unashamed, primitive and moral, jungle-bound and knowledgeable—of the simple essentials of life. Study Glyn Philpot's wonderful drawing of the head of a Negro. It is all there, the brooding, the poetry, the slumber that is no slumber, but the passivity of Vesuvius before eruption. So, to Pickney Hill,

" Spring's voice comes wandering like some muted tone,
From far-off symphonies....."

And Claude McKay, a Jamaican, an exotic himself, wandering through the Covent Garden of New York is moved by memories stirred to life by the sight of exotic fruits

".....fruit-trees laden by low-singing rills,
And dewy dawns, and mystical blue skies
In benediction over nun-like hills."

He, himself, is stirred in a different fashion, by the spectacle of a lynching, and writes a poem thereon wherein the realism makes one shudder. Realism and idealism, however, run hand in hand,

" Like soft rain-christened sun-shine, as fragile as rare gold lace,
Your breath, sweet-scented and warm, has kindled my
tranquil face."

Ray Dandridge, Literary Editor of the Cincinnati Journal, writes whilst lying on his back: "Zalka Peetruza (who was christened Lucy Jane)" is a curious piece of work with an equally curious appeal. "Tracin' Tales," in which a villager endeavours to trace the source of gossip anent himself and his girl, and finds it originated at the source from which he set out, is a most amusing dialect poem. The very name of Maffew Pleasan' view is a delight.

The yodel of the Negro is heard in the "Corn Song" of John Wesley Holloway,

" O Miss Julie, Who—ah!
Love me truly, Who—ah!
Who—ah!"

Shelley and Keats would appear to be two of the most beloved of the English poets among the Negroes. There is a poem by James David Corrothers which pays tribute to both—

" Yearned Shelley o'er the golden flame?
Left Keats, for beauty's lure, a name,
But "writ in water"? Woe is me!
To grieve o'er flowerful faery.
My phasian doves are flown so long,
The dream is lovelier than the song!"

Women poets seem to be in the minority amongst the Negroes. Georgia Douglas Johnson, Sarah Collins Fernandis, and Henrietta Cordelia Ray, have endeavoured to carry on the Phillis Wheatley tradition, in quality if not in matter. Georgia Douglas Johnson, the mother of two sons, is the authoress of (among others) a short but powerful poem "The Octoroon,"

" One drop of midnight in the dawn of life's pulsating stream
Marks her an alien from her kind, a shade amid its gleam."

"Little Son" is

" The substance of my every dream,
The riddle of my plight,
The very world epitomized
In turmoil and delight."

Sarrah Collins Fernandis, an ardent social and slum-worker, has, like Benjamin Griffith Brawley, a vision beyond this present state,

“ Sometimes a vision flashes out to me
Of more abundant life that is to be! ”

Henrietta Cordelia Ray (d. 1916) questions the secrets of Nature. Dawn creates the ecstasy within her heart. Though unequal in quality she has flashes of beauty as when in “ Dawn’s Carol ” she exclaims

“ Such moments for us seem to weave
Hope’s loveliest tissues;.....”

Jessie Redmond Fauset echoes the anti-slavery feeling when she speaks of her old “ mammy ” in “ Oriflamme ”—

“ I think I see her sitting bowed and black,
Stricken and seared with slavery’s mortal scars,
Reft of her children, lonely, anguished, yet
Still looking at the stars.”

On the whole, however, the female section has not produced much worth-while poetry compared with the male community. Of the latter Langston Hughes is the most modern. His work shrieks of jazz and cabaret, of syncopation and gin, of prostitutes and “ daddies,” and of intolerable weariness and pain beneath the tinsel surface.

“ Homesick blues is
A terrible thing to have.
To keep from cryin’
I opens ma mouth an’ laughs.”

The Spirit of the age in Haarlem! the bitterness of Carl van Vechten’s “ Nigger Heaven ”!

“ Cabaret, cabaret!
That’s where we go,
Leaves de snow outside
An’ our troubles at de door.”

"The Ballad of Gin Mary" is full of gruesome humour, and the "Gal's Cry for a Dying Lover" is genuine pathos,

"Way Down South in Dixie,
(Break the heart of me)
They hung my black young lover
To a cross-roads tree."

It is not pleasant reading. It is grim, sordid, repulsive; but it expresses a phase of life. It has been said (*vide* "Poetry Review," Jan.-Feb., 1928) that "When Mr. Masefield marked down as his objective 'the dirt and the dross, the dust and the scum of the earth' he set himself a task for which he is absolutely unfitted." Langston Hughes does not shirk the revolting aspects of life, but his staccato method is peculiarly good as a means for their portrayal. He lays his paints on, so to speak, in "dabs" and does not trouble to smooth off the edges,

"Life
For him
Must be
The shivering of
A great drum
Beaten with swift sticks.
Then at the closing hour
The lights go out
And there is no, music at all
And death becomes
An empty cabaret
And eternity an unblown saxophone
And yesterday
A glass of gin
Drunk long
Ago."

Yet he can invoke God •

"Have Mercy, Lord!
Po' an' black
An' humble an' lonesome
An' a sinner in yo' sight.
Have Mercy, Lord!"

Both he and Countee Cullen have in their hearts the desire,

“ To fling my arms wide
In some place of the sun,
To whirl and to dance
Till the bright day is done.
Then rest at cool evening
Beside a tall tree
While night comes gently
Dark like me.”

But after Hughes' saxophonic qualities Cullen is somewhat restful, though no less *restless*. He has fallen under the spell of Keats and Conrad, and Dunbar. He is a racial champion,

“ Ambiguous of race they stand,
By one disowned, scorned of another,
Not knowing where to stretch a hand,
And cry “ My Sister ” or “ My Brother.”

A little white boy in Baltimore puts out his tongue and calls him “ Nigger.” That is all he remembers of Baltimore. He has moments of wild beauty as in “ Spring Reminiscence,” and his “ hectic blood” responds to the call of the brown girls. As he himself says,

“ Not yet has my heart or head
In the least way realized
They and I are civilized.”

Is this the solution?

GWENDOLINE GOODWIN

LOVE IS LOVE

I

O, why oppressest thou thy mind
By thinking what's to be
Thy mind's a fool, a speechless child
It uncertain moves, see.
O helpless 'tis in evil's sway,
No sin to mind's unknown,
The highest good it can conceive
By love of saints alone.
In saints true good is shown.
All good and ill are in Love's power
Beyond them shines Love's sweetest bower.
On Love's breast lie with sweetness strewn,
What comes, what goes, blot out—blot out.
And mind shall lose its piercing shout.
When mind's asleep then Love's awake
And naught is left to make, unmake.
This moment thou thy mind unmind
And joy eternal, sweet Love, find !

II

In love assume Love's burden, friend,
Love's course is never smooth,
Of serpents, Love the bite is death
And Love's the cure, in truth.
And Love is Love—more none can tell,
In grief and joy Love's magic spell,
Love lifts thee up to heaven of stars,
Love throws thee down in hell.

Love rolls thee small, love spreads thee large,
Love's air—free, Love's prison—cell,
Love is all and love is one,
Love knows no end, is nev'r begun,
No presence absence Love can know,
Sweet Love is heaven's eternal glow.
The lov'd is Love, and lover be,
Love's eye alone can true Love see.
Man treads on Love as lifeless sod,
And worships Love as all in God !

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

THE UNITY OF EMPIRE FARMING :

Lessons of the British Royal Show.

The need for organizing the whole of the industries of the Empire as a single unit has been often and rightly emphasised. Agriculture is the oldest and greatest industry of all, yet little attention has hitherto been paid to the need for organising Empire farming as a single unit.

Some time ago, a prominent statesman, a man himself skilled in practical farming, made the remarkable prophecy that the future would see us regarding British farming not as an isolated event, but as part of the vast body of Empire farming as a whole. Would it be too sanguine to regard this year's visit to Britain of a group of farmers from all parts of the Empire as a first tentative step towards a realisation of that mighty prophecy.

These Empire farmers saw much to interest them and not a little to instruct them during their visit. They saw farms, research stations, docks, factories and in fact everything directly or indirectly concerned with their industry. Perhaps their most remarkable experience, however, was the visit to the Royal Agricultural Show—the premier Show in Britain and perhaps throughout the world. At the Show they were the guests at a luncheon given by the great Imperial fertiliser organisation—Messrs. Nitram, Ltd. Apart from this memorable reception their visit to the Show grounds afforded them the opportunity of seeing for themselves how British manufacturers cater for the farming industry in all its branches—in all climes.

The implement yard was particularly interesting as well as instructive, for it reflected the great skill and ingenuity of British Engineers. Progress was apparent on all sides ; here it was represented by improvements on old types of machinery, there by entirely new inventions.

One exhibit of special note was a poultry-plucking machine. By means of this ingenious device a fowl can be cleanly plucked and the plumage gathered together in less than a minute. This labour-saving marvel ought to find a place on all large-scale poultry farms.

Another notable invention was a portable shed or 'bail' which had been used for demonstrating the possibility of milking cows by machinery in the open fields. This shelter was fitted with many automatic labour-saving devices, one of which was for feeding concentrates to those cows giving a superior yield. It is claimed that by this method one man and a boy can quite easily manage a herd of seventy cows.

The group of Empire farmers also saw powerful steam and petrol tractors together with their complementary array of ploughs, cultivators and sub-soilers destined to break in and put to the service of mankind those wide stretches of fertile lands at present practically uncultivated.

Another storehouse of profitable lessons on the need for scientific methods in farming was the stand of the World's Dairy Congress. Here could be seen machines and gadgets useful and profitable to all people occupied in the milk trade. A novelty was a papier-maché tube for the retail distribution of milk. One end of it is closed by means of a metallic compress while the other is temporarily covered with waxed seals. Considering that at the present time the British Empire and the world as a whole is concentrating on solving the problem of producing great quantities of pure milk at low cost, the Dairy Pavilion was probably one of the most attractive exhibits.

No less instructive than the machinery display was the show of seeds, feeding stuffs and fertilisers. British botanists and chemists were equally as eager as the engineers to demonstrate to farmers how much the prosperity of the agricultural industry depended on a free and full co-partnership with science.

The stands of the leading seed merchants and of feeding stuff manufacturers equally recorded big scientific advances. The fertiliser stands were artistic and attractive. There were tableaux showing the new system of Grassland Management in progress and also models of the compared returns of fertilised and unfertilised crops.

Reverting now to the luncheon given by Nitram, Ltd., to the Empire farmers, we find Lord Melchett (formerly Sir Alfred Mond) laying special emphasis on this question of fertilisers in his speech. He is, of course, head of Imperial Chemical Industries, the great chemical combine of which Nitram, Ltd., is a subsidiary, and he said :—

“The future of Empire agriculture is a problem to which my companies and myself have paid a great deal of attention and thought and I should like to indicate what we are doing and what we propose to do to further its development.

“Imperial Chemical Industries, Limited, is engaged in developing large-scale manufacture of fertilisers and at Billingham is promoting a great new national industry of the utmost imperial significance. The plant itself is a great triumph of British engineering and expansion on a large scale is taking place progressively.

“We are also engaged in devising forms of fertilisers to suit the varying requirements of soils and transport conditions occurring throughout the Empire. Our aspiration is to co-operate with the farmers of the Empire, who supply such a large and increasing proportion of the food and raw material requirements of Britain, by providing them with fertilisers which will make their crop-yields larger and more remunerative.

“The success of the production on a large scale of fertilisers depends upon the agricultural prosperity of the Empire, just as the agricultural prosperity of the Empire depends upon the application of fertilisers. In order to achieve this dual object, Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd., have established

a Research Station and gathered together a staff of research workers under the direction of Sir Frederick Keeble, F.R.S., an eminent authority on agricultural questions. The results of the work of this station and staff are at the disposal of the farming communities of the British Isles and the British Empire.

“As a link and liaison between the farmers of the Empire and the headquarters research staff, the services of Lord Bledisloe, who has such an intimate knowledge of the agricultural problems of Britain and the Empire, are available. Lord Bledisloe is a late Secretary for Agriculture and is himself a practical and experienced agriculturist. We recognise, of course, that the building up of an agricultural organisation in all parts of the Empire must of necessity be a slow and laborious process. Our aim is to study and provide for the needs of all. The research staff must therefore be representative of the Empire, because for advice in agricultural matters to be of economic value, it must be specific and not general.

“We contemplate the creation of a great edifice which should be both serviceable and enduring. It is natural therefore that we shall start our structure in the British Isles, but throughout we shall have before our eyes the needs of the Empire. One of our first steps will be to establish a British agricultural association in order to apply the new principles of grassland management and of applying fertilisers in relation to crop rotations in this country. That association will gradually be extended to other parts of the Empire.

“I have perhaps under-estimated the Empire significance and services of our organisation. Already in Australia, we have a productive capacity and at the present moment a special mission studying the agricultural problems of that great Continent. In South Africa too we have an associated company which produces fertilisers, arranges their sales and distribution, and is in close touch with the ever increasing range of agricultural problems and production in that country.

“ Very fruitful results have already been obtained in this country. I hope that our guests will visit the demonstrations of the new system of grassland management which are being given in different parts of the country. They will thus have the opportunity of judging for themselves on the results which have already been achieved. Modern commerce applied to the most ancient and the largest of all industries will restore prosperity to agriculture and plenty to the peoples of the Empire.”

GILBERT B. HUNTER

CATEGORIES OF SOCIETAL SPECULATION IN EUR-AMERICA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ECONOMICS AND POLITICS.

FROM HERDER TO SOROKIN (1776-1928).

CHAPTER I.

THE EPOCH OF INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND ROMANTICISM (c 1776-1832).

(a) *General Theories of Progress.*

Ideology : (1) growth *vs.* *status quo*, (2) the future is considered to be in the main hopeful.

1784-1790. HERDER (1744-1803) : *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte* (Ideas towards the Philosophy of History). He believes in evolution. Man is declared to be a part of nature. Progress is conceived to be possible.

1793. CONDORCET (1743-1794) : *Tableau du progres de l'esprit humain* (Picture of the Progress of the Human Spirit). Human perfectibility is his slogan. The possibilities of progress are considered to be infinite.

1798. MALTHUS (1766-1834) : *Essay on Population*.
• Man increases faster than food. Pessimism is the keynote of his investigations.

1830. COMTE (1798-1857) : *Philosophie Positive*. He is an exponent of humanism and reacts against the evils of industrialism. Three stages of progress, *viz.*, theological, metaphysical and scientific, are considered to be manifest in the history of civilisation. Antipathy to *laissez faire* and acceptance of St. Simon indicate his political affiliations.

(b) *East and West.*

1820-26. SCHLEGEL (1772-1845) : He is the founder and populariser of romanticism in philosophy. He creates the vogue, among romanticists, of laying undue emphasis on the alleged Oriental spirituality. His Indic studies are to be found in essays and editorial work on the *Rāmāyana* and the *Gītā* (1829) ; cf. *Indische Bibliothek* (Indian Library), 1820.

1825. HEGEL (1770-1831) : *Philosophie der Geschichte* (*Philosophy of History*). In the Orient, says he, the internal law and moral sense are not yet distinguished—still form an undivided unity ; so also do religion and the state. The Eastern constitution is generally a theocracy, and the Kingdom of God is to the same extent also a secular kingdom as the secular kingdom is also divine. China, Persia, Turkey,—in fact, Asia generally—is the scene of despotism, and in a bad sense, of tyranny ; but in these countries tyranny raises men to resentment. But in India tyranny is normal ; for here is no sense of personal independence with which a state of despotism could be compared and which would raise revolt in the soul ; nothing approaching even a resentful protest against it is left.

1827. MICHELET (1798-1874) : *Precis d'histoire moderne* (Sketch of Modern History). In India man is utterly overpowered by nature, like a feeble child on its mother's breast, alternately spoiled and beaten and intoxicated rather than nourished by a milk too strong and stimulating for it.

(c) *Mental and Moral Personality.*

Ideolog : (1) metaphysics at the service of nation-making and human welfare, (2) dignity of man, (3) freedom, both moral and political, (4) revolution and preparedness for change.

1795. KANT (1724-1804) : *Zum ewigen Frieden* (Towards Eternal Peace), *Rechtslehre* (Theory of Right), 1797.

His ethics teaches the "categorical imperative" or duty for its own sake (corresponding to the *niskāma karma* of the *Gita*). In his psychology reason=will, an end in itself, not conditioned by time, space, and causality. Man, because of reason, is a free person, a noumenon. This is the metaphysical basis of Kantian individualism. Man in society is free among the free. "Don't prevent the freedom of others" is the social moral. Non-intervention is to be the policy of the community.

The state secures or rather compels this freedom. The pre-statal condition is a "state of nature" followed by original contract. No state, no wealth.

No resistance is to be allowed against the state. Hobbesian absolutism is the natural consequence. But the state is not to be all-interfering. Kant believes, however, that the republic is the best form when people are ripe.

His economic system recognises a primitive common ownership of land which has been replaced by private. The state is entitled to tax land-owners and corporations in public interest.

Contracts and exchange as well as money have been analyzed somewhat in detail. The ideas are those of Adam Smith. He comes to the conclusion that trade leads to permanent peace and *jus cosmopoliticum*.

Kant's sociology is optimistic enough to assert that all human capacities are destined to be developed. The individual chooses and makes his own happiness. The objective of human endeavour should be to found such a society as will realize law everywhere. Wars are but experiments in the direction of the world-state. Though civilized we are not yet made moral, says he. Experience tells us how things are and have been but does not tell us that they cannot be otherwise in the future.

1796-97. FICHTE (1762-1814): *Grundlage des Naturrechts* (Foundation of Natural Law), *Der geschlossene Handelsstaat* (The Closed Commercial State), 1800, *Reden an die deutsche*

Nation (Addresses to the German People), 1808, *Rechtslehre* (Theory of Law) 1812.

Even the down-trodden slave is a temple of the Holy Ghost. Revolution is a necessary phase in evolution. The state has responsibilities for the poor. Fichte is thus a pioneer of state-socialism. Philosophical anarchism in a world-state is the goal. He is in favour, however, of propaganda carried on by the state (*cf.* Stein and Humboldt's educational reforms). "The closed state," in which industry and labour are "protected," represents the transitional ideal stage. Exclusion of foreign competition is the essential feature of that state.

1810. MME. DE STAEL (1766-1819): *De l'Allemagne* (On Germany). She popularizes German thought in France and does for France what Coleridge and Carlyle do later for England. She adopts the word "romantic" from Schlegel, her friend, who coins it to mean "chivalrous and Christian" as characteristic of the "North" in opposition to the "paganism" of the classic South.

1818. BALLANCHE (1776-1847): *Essai sur les institutions sociales dans leurs rapports avec les idées nouvelles* (Essay on Social Institutions in their relations with New Ideas). He introduces Goethe, Schiller, Herder and Schelling to French literature. He is a romanticist. His faith in "heroes" is Hegelian.

1820. HEGEL (1770-1831): *Stätslehre* (Theory of the State). Freedom is not complete without the state. He expatiates on the divinity of the state and considers the monarch to be above moral obligations. In his philosophy state interference is a normal phenomenon.

His state is "socialistic" as a matter of course, the antipodes of the Kantian state. The state is considered to be a "natural necessity." It is the absolute reality, and the individual himself has objective existence, truth and morality only in his capacity as a member of the state. World-history is

the world-judgment. The actual is the rational, the rational is the actual (absolute idealism = absolute realism).¹

His dialectic of the conflict between "thesis" and "antithesis" naturally leading to "synthesis" in a cyclical order furnishes the logic of revolution in social, economic and political life.

¹ Baxa's *Einfuehrung in die romantische Staatswissenschaft* (Introduction to the Political Science of Romanticism), Jena, 1923, discusses the following topics :

I. The Epôch of Enlightenment (Montesquieu, Rousseau, Adam Smith and Kant).

II. The Prelude to Romanticism (1794-1798) : (1) Fichte's sociology based on his *Lectures on the Opinions of Scholars*, 1794; (2) Fichte's political philosophy based on his *Law of Nature*, 1796-97; (3) Frederick Schlegel's political philosophy based on his *Meaning of Republicanism*, 1796; (4) Goerres's political philosophy based on his *Jacobin Writings*, 1797-1798; (5) the influence of Schelling's *Philosophy of Nature*, 1797; (6) the Influence of Edmund Burke.

III. Early Romanticism (1798-1814) : (1) Frederick Schlegel's *Romantic Fragments*; 1798-1800; (2) Novalis's *romantic Fragments*, 1798-1799; (3) the transformation in the ideas of Goerres, 1800; (4) Fichte's economics based on *The Closed Commercial State*, 1800; (5) Frederick Schlegel's *Philosophical Lectures*, 1804-1806; (6) the national problem, 1807-1810; (7) Adam Mueller's *Elements of the Political Art*, 1809; (8) Adam Mueller's lectures on *King Frederick II*, 1810; (9) Adam Mueller's *Essay on a New Theory of Money*, 1816; (10) Goerres's political ideal in the *Merkur of Rhineland*, 1814.

IV. Later Romanticism (1813-1830) : (1) Fichte's theocracy based on *Political Philosophy*, 1819; (2) Adam Mueller's criticism of capitalism; (3) Frederick von Gentz; (4) Ludwig von Haller; (5) Frederick Schlegel's *Philosophy of Life*, 1827; (6) Baader's *Social Philosophy*; (7) Brentano's religio-social writings, 1827; (8) Tieck and the revolution, 1835; (9) Eichendorff's political writings, 1818.

Avesta would be constituted as written in Eastern Iran. Even if they are accurate, they amount to nothing. It is not on the basis of the speech of the country, Moravia, where they worked and where reigned the sovereign who summoned them, that the first Slav translators fixed the religious language of the Slavs ; it is in making use of their language, the speech of the Salonika region.

The condition of the language as presented by the *gāthās* does not permit us to fix the time, with any amount of precision, as to when that language came to be fixed. Because the rapidity with which languages evolve varies from case to case. In the second place, a literary language once fixed continues without any great visible change ; Latin, in which the mediæval texts are edited does not give any idea of Italian, Spanish, or French which people spoke after the 13th century A. D. Finally, there is no landmark for the dialect to which the Avestan language belongs.

For want of any definite landmark, one may read through the Achaemenean inscriptions where is used a different dialect, but of the same type. It has been often said that these inscriptions were written in a fixed language—in an official language. On a close examination, one gathers a wholly different impression : the language in which these are inscribed should be that of the Persian aristocracy from among whom Darius recruited his first assistants and satraps. One finds there in a sufficiently accurate manner the state of Persia in the time of Darius (521-483 B. C.) and Xerxes.

That state of language belongs again to the old type of Indo-Iranian. The final syllables continue. There is one declension for multiple cases. Most verbal types are preserved either in the current usage, or at least in some notable traces. But there is rapid progress of the revolution. The final consonants are already much reduced. The casual forms are lost to declension ; the dative is not distinguished from the genitive ; the instrumental is to a great extent confounded with the

ablative; the nominative and the accusative masculine plurals of demonstratives have only one form. The perfect is replaced almost entirely by periphrasis. The modern Iranian stage is not yet reached; but the language is settling down, and one feels that it will not be long in coming to that.

One detail marks well the difference of level in the *gāthā* language, that of the late Avesta and the old Persian (which is from an entirely different dialect). In the *gāthās*, the two terms of the name *Ahura Mazda(h)* are autonomous; they are often separated from each other; the order varies and one has it *Mazdā(h) Ahura* as well as the inverse. In the late Avesta, the two terms are again mutually flexed: *Ahurā Mazdā*; but the order is fixed. In old Persian, the unification is complete, and the last term only is flexed: *A(h)uramazdā*.

Persian, language of a conquering aristocracy which has occupied new regions, is bound to evolve rapidly. And there is roughly speaking one century between the traditional date of Zoroaster and that of Darius. On the other hand, the language of the *gāthās* should be archaic. The Persian inscriptions bear trace of a traditional religious language which the authors of the *gāthās* have not failed to know as well. The nominative plural in *-āha* of the themes in *-a-* is not conserved in old Persian as by tradition; but, it is found in the *gāthās* and also in learned tradition. The word *fraēšta* (messenger), unknown to the late Avesta, but undoubtedly known in the *gāthās*, has there the plural *fraēštānhō* (Y. XLIX. 8).

But, as the appeal of the *gāthās* lay to the public, they could not differ much from the current language; all religions which seek converts should have recourse to a language intelligible to the people. Buddhism and Christianity are instances in point. In many cases, the *gāthās* present some forms already evolved and more altered than those of the Avesta text (see the article in *Journal Asiatique* already referred to, page 19). Likewise the flexion of *vispa*—has conformed to the general nominal type; dat. sg. *vīspāi*, gen. plur. *vīspanām*; there is one first person

singular thematic *sišā*, in place of the athematic form reached afterwards, 3rd person singular *sāsti*, etc. Many little details show that at the moment when the *gāthās* were composed the language was gliding rapidly to a new state.

This is the position ; it is true that the state of the language of the *gāthās* is yet extremely archaic, and that this archaism is often the case, though it disappears now and then, and that in this the language is like that of the Rig Veda. The rule *τα ζῶα τρεχει* is rigorously applied. The first person primary of the singular active in the athematic type is still in *-ā*, a thing unique in all Indo-Iranian. The opposition of *gaidē* " come " and of *jantu* " that he may come " continues. The results of the law of Bartholomew are not effaced, and the forms *αογτα* " thou hast said," *aogadā* " he has said " continue, in face of the form *avata* of the recent Avesta. But nothing in all this implies a date more ancient than the end of the 7th century B. C. The rule *τα ζῶα τρεχει* is applied in Greek still much less.

If the condition of the language of the *gāthās* is more ancient than that of old Persian, and in a very sensible manner, it does not imply, evidently, a further difference from the century indicated by the tradition. The old uses should be on the point of change. A curious fact is that the genitive-ablative singular of the athematic type lives in the language of the *gāthās* as in Vedic, whereas in late Avesta, the ablative singular has been distinguished everywhere from the genitive by a special form and has received the final *-t* of the ablative on stems in *-a*. But the action of one type on another had already begun ; it was seen only in the language of the *gāthās* in a form the reverse of that which has prevailed in the recent Avesta ; the form of the genitive *varəzənahyā* comes from the ablative (Y. XXXIII. 4), on the analogy of the forms of the athematic type. One observes here, once more, how the evolution of the *gāthās* is not what has been the case with the forms of late Avesta.

Whatever little help may come from a text like the *gāthās*, whether by its contents or by language, to supply a new date or confirm the old, the data derived from such studies agree with the date indicated by the tradition as well as with the localisation. And as that date is on all points apparently correct and there is no suspicion, it is necessary to keep to it. We can fix a date for the text of the *gāthās*. One might then turn it into account for reconstructing the ancient history of the people speaking the Iranian language—so full of blanks and obscurities—and also for following the development of the religious thought in Iran.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

W. B. YEATS

VIII

The Rose Symbol which occupies an important place in Yeats's poetry connects him with mediaeval mysticism. His prayer to it (practically to Intellectual Beauty in the rhythm of Morris) indicates the meaning of this symbol :—

“Come near, Come near, Come near—ah, leave me still
A little space for the Rosebreath to fill ;
Lest I no more hear common things...
But seek alone to hear the strong things said
By God to the bright hearts of those long dead
And learn to chant a tongue men do not know.”

His apprehension at that time was that the day when the gate began to open he might become difficult or obscure. A little later he changed “bright hearts” into “spirits with mirrors in their hearts.” His “rituals were got,” he says, “by that method Mathers had explained to him” and he plunged into a labyrinth of images against which the oracles ascribed to Zoroaster had warned—“Stoop not down to the darkly splendid world wherein lieth continually a faithless depth and Hades wrapped in cloud, delighting in unintelligible things.”

Yeats gives us in his Autobiography a long history of the growth of speculations, mostly mystic, in himself noting in detail how symbol, dream, reverie, trance were produced in the course of the psychical and hypnotic experiments carried on by him and his uncle George Pollexfen.

Similarly he explains the symbol of the Phases of the Moon and its application to Oscar Wilde. This particular symbol enters, we know, elaborately into Yeats's writings. About this—Yeats says that he discovered that his dream of early manhood,

that a modern nation could return to Unity of Culture, was false. He uses the symbol of the changing moon and the cat Minna-loushe. Modern civilisation is not a homogeneous whole but much divided and therefore in it men and women cannot attain to Unity—"only a small fragment of man's nature can be brought to perfect expression," even though, if the particular phase we call our own be right, a fragment may be an image of the whole.

In this connection I should mention that Freud's psycho-analytic dream-interpretation leading to his dream-theory of an internal conflict and Freudian psycho-analysts like Hesnard give an exhaustive presentation of new methods of scientific study which take exception to symbolism. The Freudian principle as applied to literary criticism has been accepted too by a host of writers like Rank, Abraham, Mordell, Chandler, Lavrin and Carpenter. Yet Yeats holds symbols to be great powers which associate themselves with events, moods and persons through the Great Memory—*i.e.*, memory of nature that reveals events and symbols of distant centuries. True art, he asserts, must be primarily *expressive* and therefore is at bottom symbolic and symbol has an intimate affinity with rhythm. Yeats goes further and distinguishes between symbolism, intellectual and emotional. He next raises the momentous question of the nature or type of poetic manner when poetry moves readers because of its symbolism and he refers to the Shelleyan interpretation of symbols of one eternal entity appearing to us as objects of sense perception and compares the symbolism of Blake with that of Shelley (in his "Ideas of Good and Evil") and notes the former's hostility to Dante's symbolism.

The "Decadent Symbolist's" ultra-sensuousness and ultra-artificiality—his "hatred of the natural and love of the artificial as escape from thralldom to delusive beauty"—and his setting of this artificiality in sharp opposition to the Nature-apotheosis of Rousseauistic Romanticism find, Yeats shows, their parallel in Blake's worship of the concrete and particular.

and his rejection of "the delusions of goddess Nature and her laws of the numbers" (i.e., of the multiplicity of nature) in favour of "the mind in which every one is king and priest in his own house." Yeats in effect implies his tendency to approve Blake's desire to establish a transcendental outlook.

Yeats's sense of a haunting mystery and his revived taste for dreamy legends of old Ireland as also a fairy-tale background given to many of his prose pieces indicate his affinity with Maeterlinck. Symbolism as a *poetic art* even in the case of Maeterlinck is an offshoot of ultra-romanticism with a decided tendency towards the allegorical interpretation of apparently insignificant details of common events or of ordinary daily life. As such it depends for effectiveness upon the distinctive *romantic* quality of vague suggestion as opposed to clear statement and is thus artistic. (p. 116)

This element of the vague which entered so largely into nineteenth century neo-romanticism is suggestive of mystery through the imaginative appeal of shadowy imagery steeped in haunting music. The poetry of Yeats pre-eminently possesses these qualities so dominant in Blake.

Subconscious intuition here plays a predominant part and the subjective note re-appears in a new form (distinguished, for instance, from the Wordsworthian sublime egotism or the Byronic self-assertiveness) as if it were the literary counterpart of the political *Entente cordiale* between France and England in 1904-1908.

In France symbolism started as a sort of reaction against the realism of Balzac, the younger Dumas, Zola, Flaubert, Maupassant and the revived naturalism of the 90's which formed a perplexing blend with decadent mysticism represented by Huysmans in whom the occult and the introspective play a prominent part indirectly influencing, to some extent, Yeats's friend Oscar Wilde. Closely connected with this reaction is the reappearance of Idealism as a survival from the Romanticism of Hugo, Musset, Vigny and Gautier. In the 80's and, roughly

speaking, up to the middle of the 90's two other factors began to give symbolism a new direction, *viz.*, Pre-Raphaelitism in painting and the Wagnerian musical drama in literature.

Yeats tells us in his Autobiography that after finishing for *The Savoy* his "Rosa Alchemica" he consulted a friend who could pass into a condition between meditation and trance and Yeats believed in his own *daimon* ("my own buried self speaking through my friends' mind"). He also refers to the sub-conscious mind and the mind of the race called by Mathers "instinctive magic" and gives an elaborate account of the way in which he decided to turn the sub-conscious into a new direction by using names and forms as symbols. Regarding his own dream and its strange coincidence with that of Symons and that of a little child in London about a woman shooting at God with an arrow, he observes—"Had some great event taken place in some world where myth is reality and had we seen some portion of it?" He thought it came from the memory of the race or by transference of thought and though no definite conclusion could be formed *he felt* sure there was some symbolic meaning in all this. He records how while he was at Coole, of which the woods are so knitted to his thought that after his death they would have his longest visit, a few extraordinarily **simple** thoughts that perfectly explain the world came to him "from beyond his own mind." Between 1897 and 1898 his first significant dreams too—quite different from ordinary dreams—appeared amid brilliant light while he was deeply practising meditations.

While once crossing a little stream near Inchy Wood an emotion never experienced before swept down on him and he at once said—"That is what the devout Christian feels, that is how he surrenders his will to God." When he awoke the next morning, he heard a voice saying—"The love of God is infinite for every human soul, because every human soul is unique, no other can satisfy the same need in God." In 1895-96 he was in despair, he says, "at the new breath of comedy that

had begun to wither the beauty that I had loved, just when that beauty seemed to have united itself with mystery." And again—

"Does not all art come when nature, that never ceases to judge itself, exhausts personal emotion in action or desire so completely that something impersonal, something that has nothing to do with action or desire, suddenly starts into its place, something which is as unforeseen, as completely organised, even as unique, as the images that pass before the mind between sleeping and waking?"

Regarding Synge, with whom Yeats's first meeting took place in the autumn of 1896 (when Yeats was 31 and Synge 24 years old) soon after the former's return from Italy and his six months' travels among the Black Forest peasants, Yeats observes—"According to my Lunar parable he was a man of the 23rd phase; a man whose subjective lives—for a constant return to our life is a part of my dream—were over; who must not pursue an image but fly from it, all that subjective dreaming, that had once been power and joy, now corrupting within him. He had to take the first plunge into the world beyond himself."

MYSTICISM

Any man with a serious purpose in life and extremely earnest and eager in the pursuit of knowledge who busies himself as did Yeats in unravelling the hidden secrets of the mysteries of the universe and from a temperamental need makes a close study of theosophy, occultism and spiritualism, is bound to be an interpreter of mysticism. I have tried to lay sufficient emphasis on Yeats as a poet and an artist and made within my limits too careful a study of the various phases of his poetry and its development to justify any misunderstanding regarding the correct estimate that should be formed about his principal works, if now I turn for a moment to the consideration of Yeats as a mystical writer. His affinity with Blake, Shelley, Rossetti,

Verhaeren, Maeterlinck, the Sufis, and his close association with psychical research societies, with men deeply engaged in the study of the Christian Cabala, in telepathic experiments, trance, television, seance (1887-91), the particular form of his religiousness, his interest in ghostly phenomena, his strange yet bold speculativeness, not to speak of the intimacy he formed with people like Madame Blavatsky, Macgregor Mathers, Liddel Mathers, William Sharp, Stuart Merrill, "Megarithma," and the members of the society of "The Hermetic Students" founded by Mathers, Woodman and Westcott whose Rosicrucian phantasies produced in him in time a spirit of opposition to their vagaries,—all these surely prepare us for expecting that a mystical interpretation of life must form an essential element in the writings of Yeats. One may, perhaps, mention in this connection his close relations with Lionel Johnson, George Russel and even Tagore. George Russel was at one time counted as the "saint and genius" of the theosophist centre at Ely Place where members discussed philosophy and arts to be able to discover a religious principle on which their lives could actually be based. The question at issue was, we know, with the rival groups as to who should have the leadership of mystical thought in the then Dublin.

Given to inspired divination George Russel not only had strange spiritual visions but insisted on looking on them as real while his friend Yeats stoutly contended they were at best symbolic. These visions of "A. E." and the controversy they raised teased Yeats with questionings recorded significantly by the latter in the following way :—

"Were they so much a part of his subconscious life that they would have vanished had he submitted them to question ; were they like those voices that only speak, those strange sights that only show themselves for an instant, when the attention has been withdrawn ; that phantasmagoria of which I had learnt something in London ; and had his verses and his

painting a like origin? * * And was that why the same hand that painted a dreamy, lovely, sandy shore, now in the Dublin Municipal Gallery, could with great rapidity fill many canvases with poetical commonplace ; and why, after writing "Homeward Songs by the Way" where all is skilful and much exquisite, he would never again write a perfect book? Was it precisely because in Swedenborg alone the conscious and the subconscious became one—as in that marriage of the angels, which he has described as a contact of the whole being—so completely one indeed that Coleridge thought Swedenborg both man and woman?"

The "Hodos Chameliontos" gives details of Yeats's plan for a mystical order to be set up at the Castle Rock (Roscommon)—a romantic spot suitable for meditative persons—with a view to establish there mysteries like those of Eleusis or Samothrace and for 10 years his "most impassioned thought was a vain attempt to find philosophy and ritual for that Order" under the conviction that "invisible gates would open" as they did for Blake, Swedenborg and Boehme and "that its philosophy would find its manuals of devotion in all imaginative literature, and set before Irishmen for special manual an Irish literature which, though made by many minds, would seem the work of a single mind, and turn over places of beauty and legendary association into holy symbols."

This philosophy would "not be altogether pagan for its symbols must be selected from all those things that had moved men most during many, mainly Christian, centuries."

I have already referred to his connection with mediæval mysticism. Yeats seems to have accepted the idea of Plotinus that through the senses man attains to the first degree of knowledge which results in opinion, through dialectic to the second degree producing science but through intuition to the last degree of divine illumination. To this last Plotinus subordinates reason and it is that absolute type of true knowledge of which the foundation consists in the perfect identity of the knower

and the thing known. Jakob Boehme's illumination of 1610 and Blake's inspiration or revelation of 1803 also were not without their influence on Yeats. But he more than once alludes to the Christian mysticism of the 12th century.

In "the Tables of the Law," Yeats describes how he was led to his private chapel by his friend
 Mediaevalism. and former associate in Paris, where they were fellow-students, Owen Aherne, who once "had thoughts for nothing but theology and mysticism" and combined in himself the nature of "half monk" with that of "half soldier of fortune" and "belonged to a little group which devoted itself to speculations about alchemy and mysticism." This chapel it was in which, Yeats observes, he "had first, and when but a boy, been moved by the *mediævalism* which is now (*i.e.*, about 1897), I think, the governing influence in my life."

Yeats's researches on alchemy led him, he says in "Rosa Alchemica," to the discovery of the truth that the Alchemist's "doctrine was no merely chemical phantasy," but a philosophy applied to the world at large including the elements and man, and their desire to transmute into gold inferior metals was "part of an universal transmutation of all things into some divine and imperishable substance; and this enabled me to make my little book (on the Alchemists) a fanciful reverie over the transmutation of life into art, and a cry of *measureless desire* for a world made wholly of essences" (*Italics mine*).

Here we have a very significant confession of faith on which, I feel, it is superfluous to expatiate.

Yeats quotes the opinion of Joachim, the Christian mystic of the 12th century, whom Dante places in Paradise (Canto VII) as one "endowed with soul prophetic" forming a group of twelve glorified souls in the 2nd circle that those whose work *was to live and not to¹ reveal* were children"

¹ Cf. the sanction given by the Pope through the intervention of St. Bernard of Clairvaux to the visions and revelation of the Christian mystic, the Abbess St. Hildegard (1098-1179).

having the Pope for their father but "others were elected, not to live, but to reveal that hidden substance of God which is colour and music and softness and a sweet odour and that these have no father but the Holy Spirit.*** These children of the Holy Spirit labour *at their moments* with eyes upon the shining substance on which Time has heaped the refuse of creation; *** for terror and content, birth and death, love and hatred, and the fruit of the Tree, are but instruments for that supreme art which is to win us from life and gather us into eternity like doves into their dove-cots."

Now, mediæval (Christian) mysticism in the West was, we know, largely influenced by Neo-Platonism between the end of the 3rd century and the beginning of the 6th and after an interval of nearly 4 centuries once more revived with vigour after the 10th. In this connection the names of Proclus, Iamblicus and specially of the pseudo-Areopagite, Dionysius, are frequently mentioned. The "Confessions" of St. Augustine (Chapter VII) particularly furnish evidence of the way in which mysticism affected Christianity through Plotinus and Porphyry. In connection with Yeats's pre-occupation with alchemy, it must be remembered how magic and alchemy (*cf.* Paracelsus) played their part in destroying the power and prestige of abstract rationalism which for a time shaped and regulated dogmatic theology and thus paved the way for the rude beginnings of a scientific method of investigation of truth which characterized the Renaissance. Even this crude science of the Renaissance owed much to Platonism and Neo-Platonism.

In Yeats's "A Voice" we come across the statement—

"One day I was walking over a bit of marshy ground close to Inchy Wood when I felt, all of a sudden, and only for a second, an emotion which I said to myself was the root of Christian mysticism. There had swept
 Mediæval mysticism. over me a sense of weakness, of dependence

on a great personal Being somewhere far off yet near at hand." In the prose essay "Out of the Rose"¹ (in Yeats's *The Secret Rose*, 1897), the old Knight with the Rose of Rubies on his helmet thus described himself:—that he was very ardent in the service of the truth that can only be understood *within*² *the heart*, till at last came the Knight of Palestine (*i.e.* Christ) to whom the truth of truths had been revealed by God Himself and whom "a Voice out of the Rose" told "how men would turn from the *light of their own hearts*, and bow down before outer order and outer fixity, and that then the light would cease, and none escape the curse except the foolish good man *who could not think*, and the passionate wicked man who would not." (Italics mine.) We further learn that "the Kingdom of God" is "in the heart of the Rose" and "the fragrance of the Rose which filled the air" was "the very Voice of God."

In "The Shadowy Waters" this deep sense of baffling mystery is dominant. Forgael says to Aibric, who speaks of Druids muttering such strange things as they awake from trance,

"I cannot answer
I can see nothing plain; all's mystery,
Yet, sometimes there's a torch inside my head
That makes all clear, but when the light is gone
I have but images, analogies,
The mystic bread, the sacramental wine,
The red rose where the two shafts of the cross,
Body and Soul, waking and sleep, death, life,
Whatever meaning ancient allegorists
Have settled on, are mixed into one joy.
For what's the rose³ but that? miraculous cries,

¹ Cf. the next piece in the series entitled "The Wisdom of the King."

² Cf. Eckhart's Sermon on Sanctification and Outward and Inward Morality."

³ Cf. the immense rose in mosaic referred to in "Rosa Alchemica," Part IV.

Vide page 315 of "Autobiographies, Reveries, etc.," for the significance of the Rose Symbol and for Yeats's prayer to it.

Old stories about mystic marriages,
 Impossible Truths? But when the torch is lit
 All that is impossible is certain,
 I plunge in the abyss."

He repeats the same note when he sees the vision of the mysterious birds floating and hovering over the masthead of his ship as if eager to deliver unto him the message which "the Ever-living put into their minds and also speak of that shadowless unearthly woman at the world's end." "But," says he, "it's all mystery. And I am drunken with a dizzy light." In reply to Queen Dectora who fears it is madness in him he adds—

"Queen, I am not mad—
 If it be not that hearing messages
 From lasting watchers that outlive the moon
 At the most quiet midnight is to be stricken."

This Forgael is a firm believer in a mystic type of fatalism and observes—

"Do what you will,
 For neither I nor you can break a mesh
 Of the great golden net that is about us."

And he feels that when he unquestioningly obeys the mysterious voice or dream coming as a clear message from the Ever-living he has done what is right.

Similarly, in "Unicorn from the Stars" the idealistic youngman Martin who is subject to trance sees in a vision the mission of his life, which, as he eventually realises, is not destruction of the existing order—of the Church and Law—but revelation of divine mystery. "The battle we have to fight," he says, "is fought out in our own mind. There is fiery moment, perhaps once in a lifetime, and in that moment we see the only thing that matters." (Act III.)

His idea of Heaven is changed—it is not a peaceful place full of music but one full of passionate pursuits, of strife and

battle and we, human beings, "shall not come to that joy, that battle, till we have put out the senses," we must put out the whole world, the light of the stars, of the sun and of the moon, till we have brought everything to nothing once again. I saw in a broken vision, but now all is clear to me. Where there is nothing, where there is nothing—there is God." This is suggestive of *Nirvāna*² but in the "Hour Glass" Hell is a "Wood of Nothing" where those who have simply "denied" here on earth "never cease wailing for substance."

The Oldest Pupil of the Poet, Seanchan, who offers "Satyagraha" at the King's Threshold because his ancient privilege of precedence in the Royal Council over Bishops, Soldiers and Makers of the Law is denied by the King and and who starves himself to death, says:—

"Not what it leaves behind it in the light,
But what it carries with it to the dark
Exalts the soul."

Again, in the "Hour Glass,"³ the Wise Man is perplexed by the baffling passage his pupils asked him to explain that there are two living countries, the one visible and the one invisible; and when it is winter with us, it is summer in that country, etc." He adds later on that his mother too used to say

¹ Cf. "Fergus and the Druid" referred to at page 147 of Calcutta Review, May number and the Journal Intime of Amiel (from 1848 to 1881).

² "Nirvāna is interpreted by Western nations as the actual annihilation of human desire or passion; but this is a mistake. Nirvāna is nothing else than universal reason."—K. M. Hirai.

Nirvāna, according to Rhys Davids, "cannot be the extinction of a soul. It is the extinction of that sinful, grasping condition of mind and heart which would otherwise, according to the great mystery of Karma, be the cause of renewed individual existence. * * Nirvāna is therefore the same thing as a sinless, calm state of mind; and if translated at all may best, perhaps, be rendered "holiness"—holiness, that is, in the Buddhist sense—perfect peace, goodness and wisdom."

St. Augustine says, "the strong attraction of the soul to the Divine reduces everything to nothingness" and Eckhart that "the mouth of Wisdom says to us—"In all things I seek rest."

³ Cf. "The Heart of Spring."

something like that—"that when our bodies sleep our souls¹ awake, etc." It is a play written with a purpose. Here dramatically Yeats condemns science and philosophy as destructive of belief and faith, teaching and instruction as ineffectual, arguing and disputation as misleading, reason as something that simply creates doubt to our utter spiritual bankruptcy, for mystics, we know, "base their belief, not on revelation, logic, reason, or demonstrated facts, but on **feeling**, on intuitive inner knowledge." The Wise Man eventually realises that "only amid spiritual terror or only when all that laid hold on life is shaken can we see truth." When in the last moment of his earthly existence everything at last becomes perfectly clear to him he understands plainly that "We sink in on God, we find him in becoming nothing—we perish into reality."

Martin Hearne (in "Unicorn from the Stars") whose ecstatic trance puzzles and offends his uncle Thomas, the prudent, honest, hard-working, conscientious guardian of the young Martin, remonstrating with his uncle, observes—

"It is hard for you to understand. * * * It is only when one has put work away that one begins to live" reminding us forcibly of the Indian philosopher's preference for a life of contemplation and self-withdrawal into the depth of his soul from distracting outward activities. The poem "The Two Trees" in the "Rose" volume of 1893 embodies the same idea in the exhortation to the beloved to leave off gazing in the bitter glass

"The demons, with their subtle guile,
Lift before us when they pass.

* * * * *

¹ Cf. Wordsworth's mystical lines—

"Until the breath of this corporeal frame
And even the motion of our human blood
Almost suspended, we are laid asleep
In body, and become a living soul.
While with an eye made quiet by the power
Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,
We see into the life of things."

For all things turn to barrenness
 In the dim glass the demons hold,
 The glass of outer weariness,
 Made when God slept in times of old."

The positive side of the same exhortation runs thus :—

" Beloved, gaze in thine own heart.
 The holy tree is growing there ;
 From joy the holy branches start.

* * * *

There through bewildered branches go
 Winged Loves borne on in gentle strife,
 Tossing and tossing to and fro
 The flaming circle of our life."

Continues Martin that he had been beyond the earth in his trance, into Paradise where " the shining people " did not work at all, for, " all that they did was but the overflowing of their idleness and their days were a dance bred of the secret frenzy of their hearts. * * No man can be alive—and what is Paradise but fulness of life—if whatever he sets his hand to in the daylight cannot carry him from exaltation to exaltation and if he does not rise into the frenzy of contemplation in the night of silence. Events that are not begotten in joy are misbegotten and darken the world, and nothing is begotten in joy if the joy of a thousand years has not been crushed into a moment." This is in effect the आनन्दम् of Indian philosophy and it is reminiscent of the Upanishadic "मृमेव सुखं, नात्ये सुखमस्ति"

Similarly, in " The Heart of Spring," the old Master who " has fasted and laboured when others would sink into the sleep of age," beckoning after nightfall to the fairies, explains to his seventeen-year old faithful disciple the mission of his endeavours to be to find the secret of life and says that he therefore devoted himself to the search of the Great Secret. A Hebrew manuscript found by him in his youth in a Spanish monastery informed him of a supreme moment " which trembles with the song of the Immortal Powers, and that whosoever finds *this moment*

and listens to the Song shall become like the Immortal Powers themselves * * *“(Italics mine). The prose essays entitled “Rosa Alchemica” are too full of such suggestions for quotation. Every conscientious student of Yeats’s poetry should carefully read his prose works for an authentic exposition of his ideas and ideals as an artist, exactly as he must read the letters of Keats, Shelley’s Prefaces and in Wordsworth’s case the poet’s own notes along with the journal kept by Dorothy.

In the “Rosa Alchemica,” Part III, we have from Yeats the statement that “When we came in the grey light to the great half-empty terminus, it seemed to me I was so changed that I was no more, as man is, a moment shuddering at eternity, but eternity weeping and laughing over a moment.” We have to remember, however, that one reflection born of this imaginative, mystic mood, *viz.*, that all these “belonged to a divine world wherein I had no part,” filled Yeats for a time with a passionate sorrow, for, “the supreme dream of the alchemist, *the transmutation of the weary heart into weariless spirit*, was far from me.”

“I had dissolved indeed,” he continues, “the mortal world and lived amid immortal essences, but had obtained no miraculous ecstasy.”

The points of light in the sky appeared now to his fancy as alchemist’s furnaces “turning lead into gold, weariness into ecstasy, bodies into souls, the darkness into God; and at their perfect labour my mortality grew heavy,” he says, “and I cried out, as so many dreamers and men of letters in our age have cried; for the birth of that elaborate spiritual beauty, which could alone uplift souls weighted with so many dreams.”

This remarkable passage seems to me to faithfully reproduce the very tone and spirit of Sir Thomas Browne’s “Religio Medici.”

Let me now pass on to the last phase of his life and art which marks an important change.

By the year 1919 (*i.e.*, the 20th year since the publication

of his Wanderings of Oisín) when "The Wild Swans at Coole" appeared, the poet felt a great change in himself and he sings—

"I have looked upon those brilliant creatures,
And now my heart is sore.
All's changed since I, hearing at twilight,
The first time on this shore,
The bell-beat of their wings above my head,
Trode with a higher tread."

He is keenly alive to a sense of the contrast between himself and these birds (representing the spirit of nature) whose hearts have not grown old for "passion for conquest, wander where they will, attend upon them still."

Here is the crux of the whole matter. Yeats, like his now-departed friend Synge, belonged to a race passionate and simple like their hearts and (as in the case of the Irish airman who gladly embraced death) "a lonely impulse of delight drove him to the tumult in the clouds." But alas! he had known by no many an anguish—the anguish of the loss of his¹ friends and "companions of the Cheshire cheese"—and felt that his burning youth had gone. Sings he—

"But I grow old among dreams,
A weather-worn, marble Triton
Among the streams."

How intense is his desire to recapture the youthful ardour

"And learn that the best thing is
To change my loves while dancing
And pay a kiss for a kiss."

"O heart," he cries, "we are old,
The living beauty is for younger men"

or, again,

"Oh, who could have foretold
That the heart grows old?"

¹ Cf. "In Memory of Alfred Pollexfen."

Still he never permits himself to forget that "an aimless joy is a purer joy" or

"That wisdom is a butterfly
And not a gloomy bird of prey."

In the 1921 volume of poems (*cf.* "Demon and Beast") he avers that old age, which brings chilled blood, brings equally sweetness. Men, indeed, as he says in the poem with that title, improve with the years and he has learnt how to wait in patience. His "thoughts have plucked some medicable herb to make grief less bitter." Like "the sad shepherd" about whom he sings (and who grows younger every second),

"He unpacks the loaded pern
Of all 'twas pain or joy to learn,"

and,

"Knowledge he shall unwind
Through victories of the mind,"

till

"All knowledge (is) lost in trance
Of sweeter ignorance."

Resignation schools him to the recognition of the fact—

"And now that I have come to fifty years
I must endure the timid sun." (*Cf.* *The Balloon of the Mind.*)

Yet the yearning lingers—

"I would be—for no knowledge is worth a straw—
Ignorant as the dawn"

and weary of the men around him, the craven, the insolent, the knavish, the clever, and witty men whom he hates and of the sight of "the beating down" by such "of the wise and great Art beaten down," he imagines "in scorn of this audience" a fisherman "with his sun-fickled face and grey Connemara¹ cloth" about whom he is intensely eager to write a poem as "passionate as the dawn."

¹ "A tale," however, "hangs" by Connemara cloth which corresponds to our "*Khuddar*." Irish patriotic public opinion in the 90's compelled men to change tailor and cloth and Yeats yielded to it—till his tailor informed him that "Connemara cloth had to come all the way from Scotland," (*Auto-biography* p. 442).

He wistfully enquires—

“What tumbling cloud did you cleave,
Yellow-eyed hawk of the mind,
Last evening?”

There is bitterness, subsequently reprov'd, in “The People” against the treatment accorded to him as also in the piece “On being asked for a War Poem” against “times like these,” but absolutely no cynicism (which he condemns in “Upon a Dying Lady” section V) for his desire in his own case as in that of his lady is that after death he should come face to face “with Grania’s shade” or that cardinal “who had murmured of Giorgione at his latest breath—

“Aye and Achilles, Timor, Babar, Barhaim all
Who have lived in joy and laughed into the face of Death.”

In his “Prayer on Going into my House” he shows how he values and prizes nothing “but what the great and passionate have used throughout so many varying centuries.”

We realize in his case that all changes notwithstanding the child is indeed father of the man. Yeats learnt the important lesson of

“What it is to triumph,
At the perfection of one’s own obedience,”

through perfect surrender to God’s will. He fully recognises that men

“Will pass from change to change,
And that from round to crescent,
From crescent to round they range”

and that

“God tries each man
According to a different plan.”

This great change in Yeats is thoroughly reflected in the volume of poems entitled “Michael Robartes and the Dancer”.

1) of which the opening piece is highly significant. In it "thought" as such is systematically belittled and we read

"That blest souls are not composite
And that all beautiful women may
Live in uncomposite blessedness,
And lead us to the like—if they
Will banish every thought." * * *

I have already noted how Yeats's poetry, considered as poetry or art, suffers as he proceeds towards maturity and the rational quality of it on which he laid so much emphasis in earlier stages of his growth, we have to note, now yields to an *intellectual* one, however softened it may be by his mysticism and symbolic method of treatment. This change, its development if you will, reminds us of Wordsworth (after 1800). In the notes to this later series of poems Yeats refers to mystic prose pieces "Rosa Alchemica" in which, adds he, "I endeavour to explain my philosophy of life and death" (1922). I have just noticed how the complexity brought about by the conflict between "thought" and "body" is indirectly culminated in "Michael Robartes and the Dancer." His distrust of mere knowledge grows with the growth of his desire for the age of fifty for greater naturalness and the sweetness of age soothes his troubled soul. He becomes very charitable towards the opinions of those that think differently and becomes very rational-minded knowing, as he does, that after all "opinion is not worth a rush" for "opinions are accursed." He is afraid particularly of "intellectual hatred" of all hatreds because "the soul never recovers radical innocence," and finally, wonder of wonders, he holds now—

"How but in custom and in ceremony
Are innocence and beauty born?"

He ceases to look upon (physical) beauty as a "sufficient" and feels "my mind has dried up of late." (Cf. "Prayer for a Daughter.") In the poem "The Second Coming" which

explains itself by its very title there is a great n Hope.—“Surely some revelation is at hand” but at words—the Second Coming!—a vast image starts up his sight, the image of the Sphinx and darkness dr and he knows

“That twenty centuries of stony sleep
Were vexed to nightmare by a rocking cradle,
And what rough beast, its hour come round at last,
Slouches towards Bethlehem to be born.”

“Another Song of a Fool” and “The Double Vision Robartes” (in which Keatsian appreciation of the c preferred to Wordsworthian transcendentalism) are of free joyousness, for true wisdom is joyous and r (cf. “Tom O’Roughley”), which is set over against i sublimity (represented by the Sphinx) and cont immobility (represented by Buddha).

Even in his earliest poetical effort (“Wander Usheen”) there is a passage of fervent lyrical ou “Joy is God and God is joy” which speaks of joy which gives life, vitality, freshness, beauty to ever earth and in the sky, and which, like the stern voice of Wordsworth’s poem,

“** rolls along the unwieldy sun;
And makes the little planets run:
Nay, if joy were not on the earth
There were an end of change and birth.”

“I know there is good in the heart that loves dancin the young disciple to his Master (in “The Heart of who has fasted, laboured hard, foregone all rest and rep earnest hope that soon he would “enter into the eter dom of his youth.”

We have to bear in mind in this connection the s fact that all Celtic races from very early days were t pantheistic in their philosophy. In fact pantheism f

dim background of all forms of religion that emphasize that true unity is to be discovered only in and through one all-pervasive God—

“ A motion and a spirit, that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things.”

We learn that the earliest Irish literary records preserve a poem attributed to the Milesian Druid Amergin of the Fair Knee in the Book of Ballymote (first reduced to writing perhaps in the 14th century and forming with the Books of the Dun Cow and the Yellow Book of Lecan the valuable mediæval manuscripts preserving legends of the pagan Goidels) which has its parallel in an early Welsh poem ascribed to Taliesen. The theme of this piece is oneness (unity) everywhere in the universe of nature, animate or otherwise. “ It is strange,” says a compiler of Celtic myths in his comments on all such poems, “ to find Grael and Briton (Goidels and Brythons) combine to voice almost in the same words *this doctrine of the mystical Celts*, who while still in a state of semi-barbarism saw, with some of the greatest of ancient and modern philosophers, *the One in the Many*, and a single Essence in all the manifold forms of life.” (Italics mine.)

Mannaná, son of the Sea, who emigrated from Ireland during the exile of the gods after their defeat at the hands of mortals, visited that land from the Isles of the Blessed and on that occasion sang a song on this very theme.

Now, all mystics passionately believe in a unity underlying all diversity. This is considered by mystics both the starting point and the very goal as much as the most fundamental truth of that mental attitude founded on a realised experience of one-ness in all things which constitutes the essence of mysticism. “ Necessity for symbolism,” again, “ is an integral part of the belief in unity.” In the language of Plotinus the mystic’s soul adventure is “ the flight of the

Alone to the Alone," or as Blake puts it, his is the endeavour

" To see a world in a grain of sand
And a Heaven in a wild flower,
Hold Infinity in the palm of (his) hand
And Eternity in an hour."

Yeats too has reproduced the old Celtic manner in the somewhat pantheistic piece "The Indian upon God" in his early volume of "Crossways" (1889). The opening line of his "Coming of Wisdom with Time" (1912)—

"Though leaves are many, the root is one" is decidedly significant. I quote also the closing lines of "Fergus and the Druid":—

" I see my life go drifting like a river
From change to change ; I have seen many things,
A green drop in the surge, a gleam of light
Upon a sword, a fir-tree on a hill,
An old slave grinding at a heavy quern, .
A king sitting upon a chair of gold,
All these things were wonderful and great ;
But now I have grown nothing, knowing all."

The last line is worth a special notice. Let me turn next for a moment to an ancient Celtic myth.

Lugh, the Far-shooter (the Gaelic Sun-god) and grandson of the God of Medicine, got the surname of Ioldanach (*i.e.*, Master of all Arts) and as such became also the master of all knowledge. He presented himself before the Assembly of the Gods at Tara, the famous capital of the Gods of the Tribe of Danu (Tuatha Dé Danann) also called Drumcain, where Nuada, the king, was celebrating a great feast. Being challenged by the gate-keeper this Lugh described himself with reference to his infinite functions as at once a carpenter, smith, warrior, harper, poet, story-teller, sorcerer, physician, cup-bearer, worker in bronze—a master of all crafts at once, and being admitted into the royal presence sat down on the *sage's seat*.

Eventually the king allowed him to occupy the throne in his stead for full thirteen years.

This, it will appear, is a crude and indirect presentation in the shape of a semi-allegorical folk-tale of what in essence is a pantheistic conception—of the root being one but the leaves many—of the substance being one but the forms infinite.

Yeats accepted in a way the Swedenborgian idea of correspondences and divine love as the cause of creation. Mystic love is a means of realising the Infinite, the love of God being "the only unending intoxication in the world." It is thus that human love may become an ecstasy. Like Verlaine Yeats believed in the inspiration of the supreme moment, or better, "in absorption in the moment," for "the true mystic absorbs divine beauty." Verlaine's religious poems, though he is generally known as an abandoned sensualist, especially his *Sagesse*, represent the mediæval mystic's ineffable joy in and through a deep sense of communion involving an ideally perfect and absolute surrender of the individual to the Deity of which a parallel, pregnant with deep spiritual significance for a pious devotee, is to be found in the Vaisnavism of Lord Gouranga and his disciples—only in the case of the Western mystic the intensity of rapture is oftener than not tempered by a Judaic note, the consciousness of sin requiring grace and forgiveness and engendering the spirit of thanks and praise for atonement (in Verlaine's case, for instance, through the loving mediation of the Virgin who is the Mystic Rose). There is another important point to be noted regarding the mystical poetry of Yeats. The central secret of the mystics as contained in the Hermetic formula of "As things are below so are they above" finds also an advocate in Yeats. The idea has, we know, found expression in various forms from the time of Pythagoras and we have Boehme's *signatura rerum*, Swedenborg's "Correspondence," Novalis' "transparent network covering the world" and Shelley's "doubles" (in *Prometheus Unbound*). Rationalistic or philosophical criticism with a pronounced

bias towards classicism does look askance at mysticism as we find in Professor Santayana's "Interpretations of poetry and Religion" where we read—"We are dazed, we are filled with a sense of unutterable things, luminous yet indistinguishable, many yet one. Instead of rising to imagination, we *sink into* mysticism."

We cannot enter at this stage into a discussion of this point raised by so sound and cultured a writer. Let me rather quote a few sentences, pertaining to the matter, from the Presidential Address delivered on the 18th of March, 1926, by Dr. Hans Driesch to the Psychical Research Society:

"It is a well-founded metaphysical hypothesis that all Egos and minds and entelechies are ultimately one ; that the Spiritual is part of metaphysical Reality, though this one may, under certain circumstances, appear as the many. Let me only mention some of the results of my own former embryological work : one egg may give two or four organisms and souls if only you separate the blastomers and two eggs may give one organism and one soul. Can souls divide and unite ? Would it not be more adequate to say that Oneness and Manyness in these cases depend on material conditions and have both their last root in the One ? And not on embryology alone may be founded the hypothesis of Spiritual Oneness. Moral feeling and a good many other topics of our inner life would hardly be understandable without the assumption that everything which is spiritual and whole in the world has The One as its last foundation. * * By the aid of the One it may occur under circumstances unknown at present in detail that one of the many reveals to some other one his conscious contents."

ART IDEALS AND ART PRINCIPLES.

A complete study of Yeats required that I should dwell at some length on him as a symbolist and a mystic. But I am fully alive to the fact that he must be chiefly judged as a poet and an

artist. I therefore bring this study to a close by a consideration of some of his art ideals and art principles.

The foundation of his poetic art and criticism lay in his romantic conception of Irish Nationality and national literature. Even as an artist Yeats was brought up, we find from his "Cutting of an Agate," in a well-defined literary tradition.

It is not possible to give even a brief summary of his suggestive observations on such important topics as the requisites of a great movement, on the arts in general and poetry in particular, on the antithesis between art on the one hand and abstraction, rhetoric, utility, recklessness of life affected by artists and what he calls "the shop of the realists" on the other, on the intimacy of art and dream, the relations between art and eternity, contemplativeness, joyousness and self-possession, on the symbolic art and the need for the poetic imagination to be symbolic, his dissatisfaction with all types of modern drama (from Ibsen downwards) because of its isolation from life and its propaganda (however clearly disguised or artistically veiled) of some kind or other (mostly sociological) and on, finally, the end and aim of the poetry of Young Ireland and the poets belonging to what for want of a better name I call the Yeats school.

For all this I must refer you to his essays and specially to the "Cutting of an Agate."

One observation I shall here make. Yeats helped Synge a good deal in making his artistic appeal so powerful and successful by demanding that he must be steeped in Irish individual life as it actually is lived and pervade his expression of it by the delight in language actually used by unsophisticated people—thus practically following in the wake of Wordsworth.

About 1890 Yeats showed a leaning towards the poetry of beauty in the manner of Keats in opposition to prevalent realism and he held that poetry must have nobility and passionate austerity besides fine music and be distinguished by a personal note. His early bias was towards romantic

convention from which he now began to turn to spontaneity and sincerity avoiding the rhetorical vigour of Byron and the abstract idealism of Shelley and started to write straight off from pure emotion.

He slowly realised the antithesis between the dream world of philosophical speculation, poetic idealism, meditative introspection or even mystic vision and the world of actualities. Referring to his distinction with William Morris he says "Morris set out to make a revolution: that the persons of his 'Well at the World's End' or 'Waters of the Wondrous Isle' might walk his native scenery" whereas he did it so that his 'native scenery might find imaginary inhabitants.'

His aim was to found a new tradition: He adds he failed to discover his "anti-self" while Morris, Henley and Wilde copied an 'image opposite to the natural self or the natural world.'

Following upon the creation of a *popular* imaginative literature was his reorganisation of the Southwark (London) Irish Literary Society into Irish Literary Society and the founding of the National Literary Society at Dublin in 1891.

Ireland then possessed an exotic and artificial literature which in poetry borrowed from Scott, Campbell, Macaulay and Beranger and in prose from Carlyle and was practically reduced to the position of a hand maid of politics and became full of abstractions—curiosities about science, history, politics weighted with a direct moral purpose and spiced with educational fervour.

This discouraged all spontaneous, individual and personal note, which, of course, may lead here and there to nothing better than caprice. "All the past," says Yeats, "had been turned into a melodrama" (Young Ireland's prose being much occupied with Irish virtue and more with the invader's vices) "with Ireland for blameless hero and poet." It was hard to substitute for that melodrama a nobler form of art for which Yeats fought bitterly. But for his vigorous fight in 1892-93, Synge would have no chance of appreciation at all in 1907.

Yeats, however, was encouraged by the co-operation of O'Leary, Dr. Hyde, Standish O'Grady, Dr. Sigerson and others. His verses were now all picture, all emotion, all association, all mythology.

In criticism he exalted "Mask and Image" above 18th century logic (which O'Leary loved). Lady Gregory helped him immensely as a coadjutor in establishing an Irish Theatre on a new art principle and Lionel Johnson became the acknowledged theologian and critic of the new Young Ireland set.

George Russel (A. E.) and Yeats were together at the Arts School about 1884-85 when Ireland was too much preoccupied with the land war and political tumult and agitation to care at all for poetry or literature. A. E.'s verse was yet without systematic rhythm and rhyme scheme, though he wrote quite spontaneously. Yeats laid great stress on the contrast between two types of genius—the dramatic that "seeks the Mask of Anti-self" and the lyric spontaneously presenting the poet's natural tendency. He now held that "there could be no aim for poet or artist except expression of a 'Unity of Being' like that of 'a perfectly proportioned body.'" This virtually seems to suggest a bent towards something anti-romantic and anti-subjective. He further says, "I now know that there are men who cannot possess 'Unity of Being,' who must not seek it or express it—and who, so far from seeking an anti-self, a Mask, that delineates a being in all things the opposite to their natural state, can but seek the suppression of the anti-self, till the natural state alone remains."

"These are those who must seek no image of desire, but await that which lies beyond their mind—unities not of the mind, but unities of nature, unities of God—the man of science, the moralist, the humanitarian, the politician, St. Simon Stylites upon his pillar, St. Antony in his cavern, all whose preoccupation is to seem nothing; to hollow their hearts till they are void and without form, to summon a creator by revealing chaos, to become the lamp for another's wick and oil; and indeed

it may be that it has been for their guidance in a very special sense that the "perfectly proportioned human body" suffered crucifixion. For then Mask and Image are of necessity morbid, turning their eyes upon themselves, as though they were of those who can be law unto themselves." * * *

Men, who enquire "Am I a good man according to the commandments?," or, "Do I realise my own nothingness before God?," or, "Have my experiments and observations excluded the personal factor with sufficient rigour?" are men who "do not assume wisdom or beauty as Shelley did, when he marked himself as Ahasuerus, or as Prince Athanais, nor do they pursue an image through a world that had else seemed an uninhabitable wilderness till, amid privations of that pursuit, the image is no more named Pandemos but Urania; for such men must cast all masks away and fly the image, till that image, transfigured because of their cruelties of self-abasement, becomes itself some image or epitome of the whole natural or supernatural world, and itself pursues." * * *

"We may know the fugitives from other poets because, like George Herbert, like Francis Thompson, like George Russel, their imaginations grow more vivid in the expression of something which they have not themselves created, some historical religion or cause. But if the fugitive should live, as I think Russel does at times, as it is natural for a Morris or Henley or Shelley to live, hunters and pursuers all, his art surrenders itself to moral or poetical commonplace, to a repetition of thoughts and images that have no relation to experience."

I quote this long passage entire to give you a clear idea of his critical views and attitude. This we may take as Yeats's individual way of contrasting types of genius and corresponding art forms and it reminds us of Keats who dissatisfied with the romantic indulgence in fancy felt a keen desire for a "nobler aesthetic life where he might find agonies, the strife of human hearts;" it reminds us of his contempt for a philosophy "engendered in the whims of an Egoist; of his suggestion to Reynolds

that "man should have the fine point of his soul taken off to become fit for the world," or of the remark that "the intellect can be strengthened by letting the mind be a thoroughfare for all thoughts." Keats wrote to Woodhouse about his conception of a truly poetic character—"a poet has no identity—he is continually in for and filling some other body."

This attitude of Yeats clearly points to the great advance made by him since his early days spent at Dublin with Todhunter or even later from 1887 to 1891.

By 1894-95 he realised that the art principle of insisting too much on emotion (even in lyrics) "having no relation to any public interest" proved a disastrous experiment. Though he preferred Fr. Thompson to St. Phillips, Thompson's preoccupation with too elaborate verse led Yeats to make the members of the Rhymers' Club favour poems which were speech or song (*e.g.*, L. Johnson's piece suggested by the statue of King Charles at Charing Cross or Swinburne's *Faustine*) remarkable for simplicity.

If Rossetti at this time was a subconscious influence, and perhaps the most powerful of all, "we looked," adds Yeats, "consciously to Pater for our philosophy."

While Yeats talked of art as if it existed for emotion only, Symonds was for accepting Parisian impressionism and realism and Johnson who opposed both would have nothing but "achievement of the intellect" with its constant reference to the Church Fathers or the philosophers of the Church. Johnson used to tell Yeats repeatedly "You need 10 years in a library and I have need of 10 years in the wilderness."

Another point noticeable in Yeats's artistic development is his discovery that "perpetual images of desire" brought misfortune to poets.

Spenser and Keats have forms of sensuous loveliness separated from all the general purposes of life whereas Shakespeare leaned upon the general fate of men and women. Arnold's faith is in the best thought of his generation, Browning has

his psychological curiosity ; Wordsworth, Shelley and Tennyson moral values which were not aesthetic values. Coleridge in *Kubla* and *Ancient Mariner* and Rossetti in all his writings made a " morbid effort, that search for perfection of thought and feeling and to unite the perfection with perfection of form," sought this new, pure beauty and suffered in their lives. " This torture of desire, aching lust which turn the Muses to Furies till

" All the things of beauty burn
With flames of evil ecstasy."

He then remarks—strange souls are born everywhere to-day ! " Our love letters wear out our love ; no school of painting outlasts its founders—Pre-Raphaelitism had twenty years and Impressionism another thirty ! "

Yeats saved Synge from this morbidity by advising him to get familiar with a life that had never before been expressed in literature and by living for a time in the Aran Islands. Even in his own case, after " *Usheen* " (finished at 22) which was " too elaborately ornamental " he simplified his style " by filling his imagination with country stories."

We have arrived at the year 1896. Yeats thinks in this connection that " No mind can engender till divided *into two* but that of a Keats or a Shelley falls into an intellectual part that follows, and a hidden emotional flying image, whereas in a mind like that of Synge the emotional part is dreaded and stagnant, while the intellectual part is a clear mirror-like technical achievement."

Synge while in Paris said once to Yeats—" There are three things any two of which have often come together but never *all three* ; ecstasy, asceticism, austerity ; I wish to bring all three together."

(Concluded.)

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE .

THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY VICE-CHANCELLOR,
REV. DR. W. S. URQUHART'S ADDRESS TO ALL-
BENGAL STUDENT'S CONFERENCE HELD ON
22ND SEPTEMBER, 1928.

It is a pleasure to be permitted to open this Conference to-day, because I feel that your having invited me to do so is a symbol of your good will as a body of students towards the University with which you are connected. You refuse to be deafened by the clamour of criticism which has sometimes assailed the University. You declare that in your opinion there ought to be and there can be harmonious relations between that type of authority which is embodied—I hope not petrified—in the University, and the less organised aspirations of the undergraduate. You express your willingness to adopt and adapt a phrase recently used—if only the teachers of the University will forget for a moment how old they are, to forget, also on your part, though it may be only for a shorter time, how young you are. You are willing at least to acknowledge the existence of older people. You are willing to make one or two experiments in pouring the new wine of life into the old bottles of academic experience, however apprehensive you may be lest the old bottles may burst and spill their contents.

There are some who may feel that the University ought to hold sternly aloof from such gatherings as these and should regard them as signs of a youthful exuberance and restlessness which deserves no recognition. Students, it may be said, should stick to their studies and leave talking alone. I confess that I do not share this view; although I admit that sometimes there may be too much talking. I do not think that the nursery stage of training should be unduly prolonged, and that on the principle that little children should be seen and not heard, students, who are so soon to be grown men and women, should be put

in a corner and told to stay there quietly with their eyes glued to their books, if, indeed, in the dim light of the recesses into which they are thrust, they can see even these books properly. I believe in the value of discussion and in the profitable results of the expression of varied opinion.

As I have only recently returned to Calcutta after a rather prolonged absence, I am not familiar with all the stages through which the preparations for this great gathering have passed, but I am content to take the gathering as I find it to-day—a vast concourse of young men with their gaze fixed on the future, desiring above all things, to give their service for the highest welfare of their community, and anxious to find out what that highest welfare may be. And it is a great honour to be asked, as representing your University, to give the barque of the Conference that slight push which will send it out from the shore and set it floating upon the free waters of discussion and debate. I hope that your voyaging may be over peaceful waters. I do not know in what directions you propose to sail, and perhaps the discovery of these directions is just the task of your Conference. In any case he who launches the vessel is not put in possession of a complete chart of its sailings. Nor should he in the least desire to usurp the functions of the commander or the pilot. I know that you will be under able and skilful guidance. I trust that under that guidance you will reach your desired haven, and that, as a result of your reasoned and calm deliberations that haven will be one at which all who have the truest welfare of Bengal at heart will desire that you should arrive.

You have a varied programme. There are arrangements for music and recitation and debate, and there is no knowing what topics of interest the subjects committee—in its prolonged deliberations—may produce for your discussion. Whatever these subjects may be, may I express the hope that in your discussion of them you will be true to the spirit of your University, the academic, the scientific and the religious spirit. It is because I desire above all things that this spirit should be

cherished that I have ventured to take up a few minutes of your time to-day. It seems to me that if a University in any land is to remain coldly indifferent to the public questions of the day, it fastens upon the students an almost intolerable dilemma. It practically compels them either to take no part whatever in the discussion of living questions, or to determine beforehand that the part they will take will be one of utter and entire opposition to the presently constituted scheme of things in the University or in society as a whole. It leads in other words either to a dogmatism of cold inaction or to an equally undesirable dogmatism of unconsidered and impetuous action. Both extremes are to be avoided and it is the duty of students of any University to make up their minds that they at all events will avoid such extremes. No one can in the long run prevent discussion of public questions any more than he can keep back the tide of the ocean and it seems to me that a University is missing a great opportunity if it stifles discussion. As Sir Michael Sadler said in a recent address, "No University is vigorous unless the minds of its young and older members are thinking about fundamental things—God, Freedom and Duty to one's neighbour." But the important thing is *how* you are to think about these things. I beseech you to be loyal to the spirit of a University, to carry into your discussions the spirit of the student, to believe that it is possible to find out the truth in regard to great public problems, to admit that there are two sides to every question, and that it is your business to find out on which side the truth lies, and having found it to adhere resolutely to it, despite all opposition and temporary unpopularity. Great is truth and will prevail,—that ought to be the creed to which you should devote yourselves. One word more. You are here to prepare yourselves for life, to be ready to take your places as leaders of the community. Do not too hastily bring that period of preparation to an end, and rush into actions which you have not had the opportunity of sufficiently considering. This is your time for pondering over problems, and discovering the best means of

solving. It is not your time for rushing to action before you have found the solution. Nor should any others endeavour to make use of you before you have arrived at independent and free judgment for yourselves. If you cherish this spirit you will without doubt arrive at a solution of your problems, but *only* if you cultivate this spirit. You may find ways of activity which are at present hidden from the eyes of those who are older, and I would say that when, under the guidance of God and in the exercise of your own power of deliberation, you do discover these ways, it should not be the part of your seniors to create obstacles to your entering on these hitherto untried ways. Meanwhile, in all freedom of thought, in all discipline of spirit, in all respect for the past, consideration of the present and loyalty to the future, prepare, prepare, prepare for the days of action which will come to you at a later stage of your life when you will be sent out from this University to become the responsible leaders of your country in its progress towards all that is true and beautiful and good. Prepare, I say, with open mind. Prove all things and hold fast to your souls that which is good. "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report...think on these things"—think about them calmly, but also with enthusiasm for individual and social ideals; deliberate upon them, make them your own and so live according to them that your country will be the better for your conferring together.

I have very much pleasure in declaring this Conference open and I hand over the charge to your honourable President, praying that all success may attend your deliberations and that they may hasten the dawning of a new and better day for the students of Bengal and for your University for which, even with all the defects which you are frequently ready to point out, you cherish a deep and, I hope, growing affection.

LIFE OF THE CELEBRATED SEVAGY.

CHAPTER VII

The Great Mogol sends Jassomptissinga with one hundred thousand horses and what followed his arrival.

Jassomptissinga set out from Dely the second capital of the Mogol and (when he) arrived [64] after an easy march, Sextaghan went to welcome him. When he related the past events to the new General some of them caused his admiration and others made him laugh but he all the while praised the great astuteness of the adversary. Sevagy had information of the new reinforcement and fearing the might of the new enemy tried the use of his cunning. Jassomptissinga was a Gentio. Sevagy took advantage of this (fact) for he was a (Hindu) and sent him one night a rich present of precious stones, a large quantity of gold and silver with many rich and precious jewels. With these marvellous canons Sevagy fought and reduced that fortress. The message was as follows: "Though your Highness has the greatness of a Sovereign King and (now) also that of the General of so powerful an Emperor, I remember that you are a Hindu like me and if you take account of what I have done, you will find that all I have done was due to the zeal for the honour and worship of your gods whose temples have been destroyed everywhere by the Mouros. If the cause of religion have precedence over all the goods of the world and even [65] over life itself, I have for the same cause risked mine so many time for religion itself. Your Highness, I had to commit these excesses because I was so obliged to the gods (or such is your obligations) who gave me above all such a high caste and race as that of the Rayas. After death

this soul will turn to the body of a Bracmene or of a cow, as I expect of the gods for the work I have done in their service, in reward for which they have paid me with great treasures in this life which I would share with your Highness if you kindly attend to my prayers and as a token of which I offer you in the name of the gods themselves these trifles. I do not ignore that [a person of] your High caste has for honour and loyalty to defend those whose salt and water you eat and drink. I know moreover that you hold the Jaguir of the Great Mogol and cannot on that account take the side or another, but you may so behave that you will fail in the loyalty associated (with) your illustrious family (sangué) or in the respects due to your gods that I may mix with the people of Sextaghan [66] to be able to do as I like (para ser senhor das accoens) and do to him without the knowledge of the Mouros what I can."

Jassomptissinga was less devout and more ambitious and so did not attend to these scruples ; he was much obliged for the presents and still more for the promises for which he confederated with Sevagy promising not to obstruct his cause and even to connive at what (Quanto must be a misprint for quando) he might design anything against the Mouros. And for greater dissimulation he at once lodged in the quarter next to Sextaghan's to leave the rest of the field free for Sevagy's usual assaults. Neotagy was the first to set out under the darkness of night with 80 men only with him all (of them went) on foot, with swords and targets. He entered the lodging of Sextaghan which was in the very houses that Neotagy and Sevagy had built and posted behind the walls of these houses he began to affect a breath with hand pikes, a strong wind prevented the noise which would otherwise follow for Sextaghan himself had slept in the house. The Sevagis had purposely selected a stormy night [67]. They were soon (afterwards) entering but the first two fell

into a well of which they had no knowledge for it had been opened by Sextaghan's order for the use of the women. They discovered, however, that the mouth (of the well) was narrow and some of them stretched themselves over it while others passed over their (body). They found themselves in the women's quarter where no man could enter. The women seeing now so many men made a loud noise in great confusion and the son of Sextaghan hurrying to their rescue was instantaneously killed. Then the wailing and shouts of the women increased very much, which roused Sextaghan who as he was arrogant by nature, entered through the door with a scymitar in hand without knowing who his guests were. Neotagy encountering him dealt a heavy blow at his head and while Sextaghan parried with the scymitar Neotagy drove his sword shell entirely cutting the thumb. Feeling himself then wounded, and disarmed, expecting no mercy he retreated among the women who with great artifice saved his life. They pushed him along saying, "we see [68] this washerman shows boldness knowing that this is the house of women." This dissimulation saved his life for Neotagy on this account gave up pursuing him. While he returned to seek Sextaghan in the house the latter left the house and fled, convinced that the whole army of Sevagy had come upon him and he did not feel secure anywhere. Neotagy did not leave before entering the house and even sitting on the bed of Sextaghan. There he called the women and interrogated them in order to find out their master but they responded that he knew well how little freedom they had who could not go out of a house and he would find sufficient answer enough in this fact. In this manner they all said that Sextaghan was not there. Neotagy did not insist more, he knew that such was the fact but (he knew) not that these (women) had saved him. He however picked up the

most loveliest of them and judging her to be the greatest favourite he requested her to take betel and while she did so (Neotagy) remained standing before her. (Betel is a leaf very common in India, which the natives always eat [69] with lime and a fruit called areca and though the ingredients of lime and areca are as hard as bread, may seem to be unpleasant, the effect is not only good for health but is not displeasing to the taste) and she ate it slowly while his men collected all the precious things of the house. Having been informed that everything was well, he left by the main gate where he met no guard or anybody to enquire who he was. Neotagy offered no insult to the women, for this sex is much venerated in Hindustan and they observe their customs better than the Europeans. These soldiers (nestes) had special reason for this as it was the order of Sevagy who while he lived was both obeyed and loved. And if anybody ever violated any of his orders the punishment was such that there was no second instance (of the offence). Hence it is clearly inferred from this that the ruler is the real author of the losses and offences of a commonwealth is the ruler who rules.

The noise in the house was followed by the tumult of the whole army, and mounting [70] their horses the officers awaited orders about what they should do. There were great confusion and din of innumerable instruments but greater was the noise they all made because none knew what to do. And the army was in this condition when Neotagy passed through its midst passed with his men (Neotagy). Very few Mogols spoke the Daquinini language and so speaking the Mogol language all the Sevagis passed by conversing among themselves in the Mogol language and they were thought to be Mogols supposed to have come to participate in an assault that was to be delivered at a certain place against Sevagy. In this fashion they left and went to the hills and the mountains whence they had started and Jassomptissinga laughed at

the event and at all persons. With the light of the morning all doubts were removed. The Mogols found themselves mounted sleepless and tired without any success. At this stage came Sextaghan full of blood, with his arm supported in a bandage and accompanied by the guards of his gate. No one knew the cause of the strange spectacle. Their surprise was great to find such a haughty man now carry his head so pale and humble. Without saying anything Sextaghan retired [71] to lament the death of a son whom he excessively loved and to nurse the wound. While passing the gate he had an unsupportable fainting fit and he fell unconscious on the earth. Hence he was carried in the arm but no decent place could be found to lay him down ; such was the state in which Sevagy's men had left the house. The news of this fainting fit ached the female quarters and thinking him to be dead, women raised such loud shrieks that roused and revived Sextaghan who bade them in a harsh and weak voice to be silent. Then all the officers of the army came to offer him their condolence for death and wound. Sextaghan did not know of whom to complain, about which each one gave his opinion. Then they agreed that Sevagy was the author of it all and some of them seizing their sword swore that they would exact satisfaction for such (great) impudence. Others running their hands through their long beards affirmed that Sevagy could not venture so far without Jassomptissinga's consent. But as Sevagy was a gentio (Jassomptissinga) would like to help him against the Mussalanianes [72] when these discourses and bravados were going on a message came that the retinue of Jassomptissinga had arrived at the gate. Sextaghan lowered his eyes to conceal such vehement suspicions, others did the same and all got up to offer such a great personage the usual courtesies. He entered and with a smiling face pretending ignorance of the event, offered his condolence to Sextaghan and asked him what had happened. Sextaghan replied placing his hand on the

forehead as was the fashion Nacivo ghó-dá-ghá that is to say : event that God had written on my forehead. They exchanged similar other courtesies each one thought that he had deceived the other. The Mouró disguised his feeling for his lost finger and the death of his son and the Gentio that he had escaped and was not also dead. At last after a long conversation about the occurrence Jassomptissinga took leave and went to write to the Mogol, and Sextaghan immediately did the same for their office imposed this obligation on both of them. Sextaghan said that [73] his loss was due to Jassomptissinga. But the great Mogol himself had not courage to manifest his feelings against these people. This nation is called Rayaputoo and among them there are kings so powerful that they can bring to the field two hundred and three hundred thousand horse ; moreover they are most valorous and all of them are so haughty that in order not to yield to one another they have all become subjects of the Mogol whom they serve and of whom they take Jaguir tent on this condition that if he meddles with any of them all at once unite and thus they are in this manner more powerful than the Mogol and during the interregnum he who is supported by them wins to such an extent that of the sons of the Great Mogol he who has the Rayas (are Kings) on his side is sure to secure the succession to the throne. These Gentios are famous for the many nobles among all these people and the most powerful of them all was Jassomptissinga of whom we speak though he had received Jaguir from the Mogol and was on that account his vassal. As such and his general Jassomptissinga also now wrote to the Mogol giving information of the event and complaining of the conduct (Govenó may also be commanded) and vigilance of Sextaghan that four men should [74] venture into such a (big) army and commit so much (injury and insult).

CHAPTER VIII

How Sevagy sacked the city of Surrate and of other things he did at this time.

Having reported the event to the Great Mogol, Sextaghan did not for many days treat of anything but his wound and the solemn funeral of his son. For this and other reasons Jassomp-tissinga was also quiet. But both of them thought that in view of two such powerful armies Sevagy would fortify himself storing provision in one of his hills, for the moment fear will not permit him to do any other thing. None of them however knew that Sevagy was not merely very intrepid but tireless (as well) and he demonstrated it very soon. To show how little he cared for Sextaghan (what little account he made of—o ponco caso que de Sextaghan faria) and the army with which he sought him, Sevagy resolved to sack the great city of Surrate, the greatest emporium [75] of the Orient and the richest jewel of the Mogol, situated thirty-six leagues north of the place where the (two) armies lay. For this purpose he took eighty-thousand cavalry and thirty-thousand infantry with him and with great secrecy he descended the great hills near the city with all secrecy by unknown roads above the Gate. In this spacious area he did not meet with a shadow of resistance. Such were the fear and respect that all entertained him that to invoke his name sufficed for the greatest difficulties. Much more was now experienced (*Ainda aqui se vio mais*) for he passed so quietly without interfering with anybody that people doubted whether he was Sevagy but (the very thought that) he might be Sevagy was enough to prevent anybody from stirring. Some confused news of his intention reached Surrate but caused great laughter as [80] hundred and eighty-thousand cavalry were encamped in the very territories of which Sevagy had become

master (and as) he knew how to make an assault in safety and had the imagination of one who intends to destroy without being destroyed, but this time he completely destroyed. For if the two armies had the least information [76] they would secure the passes against him and he would be lost. But the Governor of the Fortress had not neglected to provide himself with munitions, food and other necessary things. The Dutch and the English did the same thing in their Factories, for caution causes no loss. Moreover, it seems that they knew Sevagy better. Sevagy laid all doubts at rest with his presence. At the break of dawn he divided his men in four parties and ordered them to attack on all sides shouting his name (with the invocation of his name), which was the most formidable battery. He was not mistaken, for it was heard (with the same terror as is excited when) a furious tiger enters a herd of cows. The guards fled, the miserable inhabitants, who in their fear and surprise had roused themselves from bed (only) to throw themselves to the swords of the enemies formed the first casualties. Sevagy had posted guards at all the exits of the city and so those who fled fell into their hands and became prisoners. There was such a confusion in the city among the Mouros, Baneanes, Guzarates and all other [77] Hindus that as it will not be easy to describe. Men, women and children all ran naked without knowing where and to whom. But no one was in the peril of life, for it was the strict order of Sevagy that unless resistance was offered no one should be killed, and as none resisted none died. Sevagy's men then entered the houses and (despising) slighting the richest silk and silver coins or silver, took (or sought) only rupias of gold each of which is worth sixteen of silver. After robbing what they found they took the richest merchants in the presence of Sevagy before whom they prostrated themselves perspiring, and trembling in such a manner that it was necessary for Sevagy himself to hearten them. He assured them that they will receive no injury if they spoke about the houses and their sites where they kept rupias of

gold, which they at once told, not only about their own houses but also pointed out all other places where gold coins could be found. Neither the quantity of money he got nor the speed with which it was conveyed by nine hundred bullocks is credible. He immediately gave signal for retreat without attempting anything [78] against the fortress, for his main object was nothing but to plunder the riches of the wealthiest city of the east to show Sextaghan and the Mogol how little he thought of their power and army. He did not look at the English and the Dutch factories. Contented himself with the small quantity he took with which he set out with the booty] for his territories marching in good order and ascending again the Gate, not where he had descended but near Galian's, arrived at Punadar without the two armies suspecting that he had gone out of the place. Entering the fortress he ordered the successful journey to be celebrated by shouts of voice and sounds of instruments but neither these nor the continued salvo for Sextaghan and Jessomptissinga to surmise anything that night was sufficient until the mail of the Governor of Surrate arrived with letters for both in which he said that he felt greatly surprised that Sevagy committed such injury in the richest port of his master and they were not all dead. It must be due not to their vigilance but to Sevagy's kindness who [79] did not like to kill anybody nor to leave so much as one rupia of gold at Surrate. The confusion of the two generals and the fun that the (two) armies made of them cannot be believed. On the top of these came the letter of the Great Mogol who was informed of all what that had happened by the Governor of Surrate and he felt the loss with such extreme anger (as both of them were grantees) that he wrote to the Generals saying with what sorrow he had received so humiliating a news, as if he had not strength enough in the Decan to reduce the pride of a Hindu of so little consequence, and he wrote to Sextaghan privately that he held a different opinion about him but that incident had

caused the loss of his reputation and honour not only with him but with all Umbroas of his court. Both the Generals hastened to excuse themselves. One with the lack of vigilance and command of Sextaghan to whom in more reasons belonged the duty of watching Sevagy's intentions for Jassomptissinga had not come to do that (he came) only to fight while he could and [80] Sextaghan threw the whole blame on the other accusing him of being confederated with Sevagy. The Great Mogol dissimulated for reasons that will be pointed out.

(To be continued.)

SURENDRANATH SEN.

Reviews

Pippa Passes, Balaustion's Adventure, Longer Narrative Poems, The School for Scandal—English Literature Series, General Editor:—J. H. Fowler, M.A. Published by Macmillan and Co.:—Thankless to some extent is the task of the commentator. For nobody ever is quite satisfied with the amount of help provided. Some would have more, some less; while the poor commentator stands rather bewildered between such contending demands. This is perhaps why we hear sometimes of the advice so freely given on such occasions: 'Leave the students alone with the poets, not thrusting anything in the shape of comment between them!' But though poets are in the long run their own best commentators, the fact remains that the majority of students do require some introduction to the masters, and an occasional prompting from behind to carry them through the first encounter.

The four little volumes before us, apparently meant for higher classes of Secondary Schools, are all well-known classics. The introductions are very useful as far as they go; but one could wish them a little more full. The notes, though brief, are to the point. The volumes are compactly bound, neat and handy. They will be really helpful to those for whom they are intended.

K.B.R.

Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 34—A new Inscription of Darius from Hamadan.—By Prof. E. Herzfeld, Honorary Correspondent of the Archaeological Survey of India. pp. 7 + iii.

This inscription discovered at Hamadan a few years ago throws some new light on the dominions of Darius. Inscribed on a tablet of silver and gold $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches square, it is written in cuneiform and is trilingual. Darius describes himself as the son of Vishtaspa and a "*Ksayaathiyanām kshaya-thia*." He speaks of his empire extending from the land of the Sakas (who are beyond Sugo as far as Kūsh) and from the Hindu as far as Sparda. The inscription ends with an invocation for Ahurmazda's blessings.

The date of the inscription is between 518 and 515 B.C., that of Behistan being 519, and that of Persepolis 516 B.C. In connection with these dates we have an illuminating discussion, which is followed by an account of the Sakas and the satrapies at the beginning of Darius's reign.

In regard to the translation or the critical examination of the material, everyone must admire the work of M. Herzfeld. To students and scholars, this edition of a newly discovered inscription will be invaluable.

N.C.B.

Gurselves

“ AT HOME.”

The Post-Graduate Arts Department has this session succeeded in organising an Arts Faculty Club of which all teachers in the Department are members in order to foster a corporate social life of which the need has long been keenly felt. The first public gathering of this new Club was held on Saturday, the 29th of September, in the Hall of Asutosh Building in connection with an “ at home ” given by the members to the new Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Urquhart, and Mrs. Urquhart and the function was very successful. A number of ladies were also present as honoured guests.

* * *

JOGENDRACHANDRA GHOSH'S RESEARCH PRIZE IN COMPARATIVE INDIAN LAW FOR 1928.

The following subject is selected for the essay for the Jogendrachandra Ghosh's Research Prize in Comparative Indian Law for the year 1928 :—

“ Law of Suretyship under the Smritis and Liability to pay Debts by Sureties, as modified by Case Law.”

The conditions laid down for the prize are :—

(i) By Comparative Indian Law shall be meant the Hindu Smriti Shastra called “Byabaharkhanda” and a comparison of the standard Sanskrit authorities on the subject with British Indian Law as contained in Parliamentary Statutes, Regulations and Acts of the Indian Legislative Council, and the law as laid down in leading cases. The study, which it shall be the object of the prize to encourage, is the history of the Hindu Smriti Shastra as it existed at and from the time when India came under British rule and how and to what extent it has been altered under British influence, regard being had not only to the existing

Statutes, Regulations and Acts, but also to those which, having been in operation for a time, have now been repealed or become obsolete and regard being also had not only to the existing leading cases, but to cases which were considered leading at one time, but have now been overruled, and how and to what extent such alteration has affected Hindu Society.

(ii) The essay may deal with the whole of the Indian Comparative Law as before defined or with part or parts thereof ; but in no case shall an essay be entitled to competition which in any way attacks the religious belief, usages or institution of His Majesty's subjects.

(iii) By Adhyapak shall be meant scholars of the Smriti Shastra, students of the Smriti in the Government Sanskrit College in Calcutta, and in the tols of indigenous Brahmanical schools which send in candidates for the title examinations held in that College, and students in other similar institutions in India.

(iv) Every candidate for the prize shall be required to indicate generally in a preface to his thesis, and specially in notes, the sources from which his information is taken, the extent to which he has availed himself of the work of others and the portion of the thesis which he claims as original. He shall further be required to state whether his research has been conducted independently, under advice or in co-operation with others and in what respects his investigations appear to him to tend to the advancement of knowledge.

(v) • Successful candidates shall be required to publish their essays, and if necessary they shall receive help from the University for the purpose.

(vi) The essay or essays shall be written either in English or in Bengali, but if any competitor sends in an essay in a vernacular language other than Bengali he shall be bound to furnish English translation thereof.

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A NEW D.Sc.

Mr. Gopalchandra Chakrabarti, M.Sc., has been admitted to the degree of Doctor of Science. Mr. Chakrabarti submitted a thesis on "Studies on Thiols and Studies in Colour and Constitution," and the Board of Examiners consisted of such eminent scholars as Prof. J. F. Thrope, Prof. Robert Robinson, and Prof. Samuel Smiles.

* * *

RESULTS OF MEDICAL EXAMINATIONS, JULY, 1928.

M. B. Honours—

The number of candidates registered for the Honours Examination was 5 of whom one was absent and two were successful, both of whom obtained Honours in Anatomy. Sailendra-nath Mukhopadhyay has been recommended for a Gold Medal.

* * *

RESULTS OF LAW EXAMINATIONS, JULY, 1928.

Preliminary Examination in Law—

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 1,168 of whom 422 passed, 445 failed, and 301 were absent. Of the successful candidates, 21 were placed in Class I and 401 placed in Class II. The percentage of passes was 48·7.

Intermediate Examination in Law—

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 680 of whom 431 passed, 116 failed, and 132 were absent. Of the successful candidates 32 were placed in Class I and 399 placed in Class II. The percentage of passes was 78·8.

Final Examination in Law—

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 1,064 of whom 438 passed, 240 failed, 1 was expelled and 383 were absent and 2 transferred to other centres. Of the successful candidates, 23 were placed in Class I and 415 placed in Class II. The percentage of passes was 64·5.

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COUNCIL OF BRITISH FEDERATION OF YOUTH.

We have received from the Secretary to the Council of the British Federation of Youth for publication the following resolution passed at its last meeting which has been sent also to the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for War. It forms that Federation's Circular No. 196 issued from 421 Sentinel House, Southampton Row, London, W. C. I.

. *Resolution.*

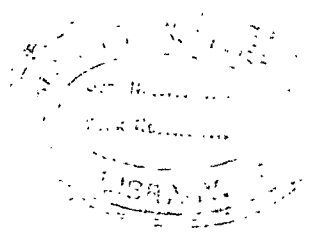
“ The Council of the British Federation of Youth deprecates the tendency in Secondary and Public Schools to make membership of Cadet Corps and Officers' Training Corps compulsory in effect and protests strongly against any grant being made for these Corps out of public funds.”

In this connection it may be noted that the Cadet Corps was first started so far back as 1860 at Eton and introduced with some success into the Central Hindu College of Benares by Mrs. Besant and it succeeded in producing a very good impression as a special feature of Collegiate life in the C. H. C. on the celebrated occasion of the Foundation Ceremony of the new Benares Hindu University on the 4th of February, 1916. It was the late Lord Haldane who created in 1909 out of the Public Schools Cadet Corps the Officers' Training Corps invested with the power to grant a qualifying certificate entitling its holder to get a Commission in war time. The Officers' Training Corps has to its credit the valuable fact of having helped

the Great War with a large body of competent officers at a stage when Britain had not yet got sufficient time for training and sending to the seat of war an adequate number of qualified army officers.

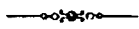
The fear is entertained in certain quarters that the maintenance of the O. T. C. is prejudicial to the noble efforts that are being made by the youth of all nationalities to minimize the chances of another war. This apprehension lends force to the recent resolution of the British Federation of Youth which may find support from the League of Nations Union.

As for the Cadet Corps, it is being fast replaced by the more popular Boy Scouts movement which to-day includes a membership of two million scouts belonging to forty-two countries calculated to foster among young men not only a healthy *esprit de Corps* but that fraternal fellowship which is sure to make for peace. Eton in 1919 and Wellington in 1926 followed by other Public Schools have officially given their hearty support to this peace-making youth movement to promote real good-will in the rising generation. Equally useful service is also being rendered for the cause of good-will among men by its natural counterpart the Girl Guides.



THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

NOVEMBER & DECEMBER



INDIA AND THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

The idea of a British Commonwealth of Nations is not of British origin, but it was first enunciated by the discontented American colonists who later on revolted against British economic and political domination and established the Republic of the United States of America, and carried out the ideal of republicanism and federalism. When one studies the documents of the American Revolution, it becomes apparent that long before the Declaration of American Independence in 1776 at the Continental Congress held at Philadelphia, the demands of the American colonists were not for independence but to secure complete control over their own affairs without interference of the British Parliament which subordinated American interests to those of especially the interests of the British businessmen in general who wanted to use American raw-materials to manufacture British goods and to sell their products in America, enjoying commercial monopoly of the market. It is very interesting to note that the American colonists in their petition to the King always expressed loyalty to him but protested against the authority of the British Parliament enacting laws for the colonies, because the colonists were not represented in the British Parliament. They objected against the principle of "taxation without representation." Later on

they enunciated their position that all just government derives its authority from the consent of the governed.

In the Albany Conference, held at Albany, New York, more than ten years before the Declaration of Independence it was Benjamin Franklin, the greatest of American statesmen, presented a set of proposals for the consideration of the delegates of the North American Colonies. *These proposals were very moderate in character and may be regarded as the embodiment of the fundamental principles upon which the present conception of a British Commonwealth of Nations rests to-day.* But these proposals, not advocating the separation of the American colonies from the Mother Country, but suggesting that greater share of self-government be accorded to the American colonists, were rejected by the British Government. Many British statesmen of that time regarded men like Benjamin Franklin and others as rebels and traitors. It may be safely asserted that the rejection of the moderate demand of the American colonists strengthened the hands of the American Republicans, advocates of separation of the colonies from the Mother Country. Benjamin Franklin and others went even to London to plead the cause of the American colonists. But when they were spurned and their petitions were rejected then they directed their energy to the cause of Independence. Details of their activities can but be barely mentioned in this article. But it should be recorded that American patriots not only planned to fight the British in America, but tried to secure international aid from England's enemies. It was through their efforts, they accomplished a singular thing in international diplomacy: *They brought about isolation of Great Britain in international politics, which resulted in British defeat.* The situation was summed-up by me sometime ago in the following way :—

“ Isolation of Great Britain in World Politics was only once brought about during the last three centuries when the Americans were fighting with England. It was through the French daring diplomacy that Spain

and Holland were lined up with France and America. This condition led to the formation of armed neutrality of Sweden, Prussia and Russia against Britain and that led to the victory of the colonies."

Now it is generally recognized in Great Britain that the loss of the American colonies was due to mere lack of fore-sight of the British statesmen in power and also due to the fact that they did not realise the full magnitude of American earnestness to secure self-government.

During the early part and middle of the nineteenth century, a party grew up in Canada which wanted to get rid of British autocracy and to establish Canadian autonomy. There was a Canadian Revolt against the British, under the leadership of Mr. King, the grand-father of the present Premier of Canada. Happily for Great Britain and for the cause of the development of a British Commonwealth of Nations, Great Britain initiated a policy of Dominion Self-Government in Canada and won the support of the Canadian people to the idea of a British Commonwealth of Nations. The self-governing status of Canada was the source of inspiration of the peoples of Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and the Irish Free State to assert their right to self-government. (By the action of the last Imperial Conference (1927), the Self-governing Dominions within the British Empire secured their virtual independence and at the same time it was decided that the status of India was nothing more than a British colony and it was to the interest of all the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations—Great Britain and Self-governing Dominions—to preserve British supremacy there. This is the barest outline of the evolution of the idea of British Commonwealth of Nations and the present status of India in the Commonwealth. In short India is denied the right of self-government, as the American colonies were denied more than a century and half ago, India and her people do not enjoy equality with the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations and their peoples. Indians justly feel that they are beyond the pale of the British Commonwealth of

Nations and they are merely a subject people striving to recover their national sovereignty.

One may show various instances of parallelism between the history of the American Revolution and the history of the Evolution of Indian Nationalism. The decisions of the Albany Convention mentioned above may be well compared with those of the recent report of the All Parties' Conference of India. So far as one can judge the Indian National Outlook from the reports of the All Parties' Conference, it is conclusive that the Indian political leaders have not committed any tactical blunder. In fact they have presented the minimum demand of the Indian Nationalists to help British statesmen to come to an agreement with the people of India. According to the Times (London) of August 16, 1928, *The Englishman* of Calcutta has characterised the demand as a "preposterous scheme for the next stage in the country's political progress." But *The Englishman* and its adherents are following their settled policy of ignoring Indian rights. It will not be out of place to remind the British readers the attitude of hostility of the Anglo-Indians as has been recorded by Sir Valentine Chirol in his recent work "Fifty Years in a Changing World." During the days of Lord Ripon *The Englishman* wrote "*The only people who have any right to India are the British; the so-called Indians have no right whatever*" (page 222). It is interesting to note that these very people opposed the Morley-Minto Reform Scheme (page 234); and they were hostile to Indian aspirations, as it is evident from their testimony before the Indian Public Service Commission (page 244). They were opposed to the Government of India Act of 1919. They have during the last half a century learnt nothing and forgotten nothing. They have the same mentality which the Cabinet of Lord North, during the reign of George III, showed in their dealings with the North American Colonies and which ultimately led to the loss of America to the British Empire.

First of all it should be kept in mind that the report of the Committee appointed by the All Parties Conference to determine the principles of a Constitution for India is a document which is signed by two former members of the Viceroy's Council, Sir Ali Imam and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru (one a Moslem and the other a Hindu ; the former was once Vice-President of the Council and the latter India's representative at the Imperial Conference), Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, Parliamentary leader of the Swarajist Party, who will be the next President of the All-India National Congress and five other signatories.....Mr. Aney, member of the Legislative Assembly of Berar and Orrisa, Mr. E. R. Pradhan (Bombay), Mr. Shuaib Quereshi, Sardar Mongal Singh of the Sikh League and Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose of Bengal. They represent not only the All-India National Congress, the Liberal Party of India but the Hindu Mahasabha, the Moslems, the Sikhs, the Non-Brahmins as well as the radical youth of India. It is the estimate of the Calcutta correspondent of London Times that "the draft (report) has behind it the united weight of the old Liberal or Moderate Party and a formidable array of Knights, Companions, and ex-servants of the Crown, whom the exclusion of Indians from the Royal Commission (the Simon Commission) induced to co-operate with the Swarajists. The tone of the document is admirable. The possibility of a political existence outside the Empire is not considered, but it postulates the disappearance of the Indian Empire in a single British Empire or what it calls 'a well-knit Commonwealth of Nations'" (London Times, August 15th, 1928, p. 12).

The Allahabad Correspondent of Times (London) has summarised the important features of the report in the following way :—

"The Committee recommends that India should have the same constitutional status in the British Empire as the self-governing Dominions and be styled as the Commonwealth of India. The Committee declares that there is no half way

house between the present hybrid system and genuine responsible government. The real problem is the transference of political power and responsibility from the people of Great Britain to the people of India.

“It suggests the abolition of the Secretary of State and the Council for India. The Legislative power should be vested in a Parliament consisting of the King, a Senate, and a House of Representatives. The Senate should consist of 200 members elected by the Provincial Councils on a population basis; the House of Representatives of 500 members elected directly by the constituencies of every person of both sexes aged 21 or above being entitled to vote. The legislative authority of the Parliament should extend to matters including defence and foreign affairs, in the same way as in the King's Self-governing Dominions.

“The Executive (authority) should be exercised by the Governor-General, acting on the advice of a council of seven Ministers, responsible to the Legislature. There would be an Advisory Committee of Defence, to effect such economies in the expenditure on defence as would be compatible with the safety of India.....

“The Committee recommends jointmixed electorates throughout India for the House of Representatives and the Provincial Legislatures and that there should be no reservation of seats for the House of Representatives except for the Moslems in the provinces where they are in minority and for the non-Moslems in the North-West Frontier Province, such reservation to be in strict proportion to the population affected.

The attitude exhibited in the report of the Committee of the All Parties' Conference on the questions of the status of the Native States, Indian National Defence, the present British employees in Indian Public Services and the Commercial interests of the British and others in India is very reasonable and definite.

The Committee does not cherish any idea of forcing the Indian Native States to enter the Federation of the Commonwealth of India. The Committee thinks 'that the Butler Committee will probably attempt to covert the Feudatory States into an Indian Ulster, *but if they (the Indian Princes) should be willing to join the proposed Federation after realising the full implications of the Federal idea, we should welcome their decision, but that would necessitate a modification of the system of Government prevailing in their territories.*' This attitude of the Committee throws the burden on the Indian Princes and their subjects to decide whether they want a united India or not. If the Butler Commission decides that the Indian Princes should have direct relations with the Government of Great Britain, then the responsibility of creating the *Indian Ulster* will be with Great Britain and Indian Princes and not with the Indian nationalists.

Regarding the question of Indian National Defence, the report recommends the formation of a permanent statutory Committee for Defence, consisting of the Prime Minister, a Minister of Defence, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Commanders-in-Chief of the Military, Air and Naval Forces, the Chief of the General Staff and two other experts. 'No measures affecting discipline and the maintenance of any part of the Military, Naval and Air Forces of the Commonwealth shall be introduced into Parliament except on the recommendation of the Committee.'

"The draft Constitution contains a statutory guarantee for the pay, emoluments, allowances and pensions of members of the Service,—military, naval, air and civil. Concerning European Commerce, they declare :—

'We cannot see why men who have put great sums of money into India should be at all nervous. It is inconceivable that there can be any discriminating legislation against any community doing business lawfully in India. If however, there are any special interests of European commerce which

require special treatment in the future, it is only fair that the Europeans should formulate proposals. We do not doubt that they will receive proper consideration from those anxious for a peaceful solution of the political problem.' "

According to the London Times of August 17th, the *Pioneer of Allahabad*, an Anglo-Indian Journal of importance, regards that "the draft constitution prepared by the committee of All Parties' Conference as moderate and sane." However on the 17th of August the Manchester Guardian, the organ of the British Liberals, in an editorial entitled "New Constitution for India" has not only opposed vigorously the ideas contained in the report of the All Parties' Conference, but suggested that the most that India can expect at the present time is "responsible Government for provinces" and *there cannot be any "responsible Government"* by Indians for the Central Government of India. Simultaneously the Sunday Times (London) of August 19th, in a lengthy article, by Mr. Harlod Cox, has not only disapproved the possibility of extension of "self-government for India" but suggested that it would be better if the people of India be ruled autocratically. Thus there is every indication that the British public opinion will be so manipulated that the report of the All Parties' Conference would be rejected as impractical by the British authorities.

What will be the attitude of the politically minded Indians of various parties towards the report of the All Parties' Conference? From all the reports at hand, it seems that the overwhelming majority of the Indian political leaders will support the findings of the Committee. Already several members of the Indian Legislative Assembly, have introduced resolutions in favour of the report. It has been reported that "Lala Lajpat Rai, leader of the Nationalist Party, has tabled a motion urging that the time has arrived for conferring full Dominion status on India at the earliest opportunity, and declaring that no advance in self-government short of this will satisfy India. Mr. Amarnath Dutt, a Swarajist member from Bengal, urges that

immediate steps be taken for the establishment of an Indian Commonwealth as outlined in the Nehru Report.' The Indian Legislative Assembly, during its September Session will have a chance to debate and vote on the question; and it is to be expected that the resolutions will be carried, unless something unexpected happens.

In the meantime practically the whole of Indian Nationalist Press is in favour of the report of the All Parties' Conference. The characteristic editorial comment of "Forward" of Calcutta explains the nationalist attitude. If the British authorities refuse to accept the moderate and legitimate demand of the All Parties' Conference then the existing state of discontent in India will be heightened. Forward writes:—"It is for England to make up her mind now. Is it peace in India she wants, or will she throw united India into discontent and possibly revolt?" It seems certain that the All India National Congress, during its coming session to be held at Calcutta, during the last week of December will whole-heartedly support the report of the All Parties' Conference. The Indian Nationalist Party, All-India Liberal League, the Hindu Maha Sabha and possibly certain section of the Indian Moslems led by Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah and others will whole-heartedly support the All Parties' Report, although some of the Moslems of India will oppose it and side with the Government of India and the Simon Commission, with the hopes that by doing so they will be able to secure "separate electorate and special privileges for Indian Moslems." But the really progressive element of the Indian Moslem community will be with the Indian Nationalists in supporting the demand for immediate granting of "Dominion" status for India.

It is a foregone conclusion that the Simon Commission supported by some Anglo-Indians in India and England and the Government of India, will ignore the cardinal principles and important demands of the All Parties' Report. Thus it is safe to say that during the next general election of 1929 the whole of India will have a chance of expressing its preference either

for "Simon Commission Report" or the "Report of the Committee of the All Parties' Conference." It is safe to say that the Indian Nationalists demanding "Dominion status" for India will win the election. Thus the constitutional agitation in favor of "Dominion status" will be carried on the Indian Legislative Assembly as well as in the "provincial Legislative Councils" with greater vigor than ever before; and at the same time the Indian Republicans, advocates of Indian Independence, will be able to spread their gospel more effectively among the masses, showing the fact that the British Government is unwilling to grant the moderate demand of the "Dominion status" as recommended by the report of the All Parties' Conference. This radical agitation will necessarily lead to repressive measures and imprisoning Indian leaders from all classes without trial, as it has been the practice of the Government of India during recent years. (This will develop a situation in India somewhat similar to what happened in America some 150 years ago and in Ireland less than 15 years ago. The British Government will be faced with the necessity of making concessions leading to the granting of "Dominion status" or the growing discontent in India, verging to actual revolt.

If some British statesmanship prevails then they will make concessions leading to India's securing "Dominion status." This will be a victory for Indian nationalism, as the present Dominion status in South African Union is a victory for the Boer Nationalist. In fact securing Dominion status for India will give India greater power than what Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand or the Irish Free State enjoys to-day. It will be a step towards Indian Freedom through peaceful means. If the Dominion status is refused within a reasonable period of time, then the most responsible Indian leaders will turn Indian Republicans, as Benjamin Franklin did, and lead the Indian Revolutionary movement to success. In any case in due course of time, the people of India are destined to be free and independent. This will change the whole course of World

Politics as India will hold the balance of power both in Asia and Europe.

If India attains her freedom as a member of the British Commonwealth of Nation, she will influence World Politics by modifying the course of British foreign policy in terms of Indian interests. If India emerges, after a revolution, as a free and independent power, outside of the British Commonwealth of Nations, then Indian influence in World Politics will be more decisive. To-day independent Poland, Czecho-Slavia, Jugo-Slavia, Finland and other small states created as the result of the Treaty of Versailles are factors in World Politics; and it is conceivable that a free India, in course of time, will exert no less influence in World Politics than Russia, China and the United States of America.

TARAKNATH DAS

WHOM SHOULD WE EDUCATE ?

V

It is generally conceded now, throughout the civilized world that every child born into it, has the right to at least an elementary education; the loathsome phrase indicating the fundamentally right idea being "Universal compulsory primary education." But so far no one has suggested universal compulsory higher education. Those who hold that every child should be sent to school whether it or its parents desire it or not are equally emphatic that, every young man and every young woman is not capable of higher education: in which of course they are quite right. Both principles are accepted here, with the reservation that there are probably quite a number incapable of even elementary education. The points that seem to require further elucidation are:—On what principles are the individuals selected for higher education, to be chosen; and when does "Higher Education" begin? Present opinion exhibits a number of instructive inconsistencies.

As regards the small child the father is to have no say in the matter. He must send his child to school or provide otherwise for its education whether he likes it or not. Only the needs of the child and of the nation are to be considered. On the other hand, when it comes to higher education, though one would expect that the same principle would hold, it is almost entirely ignored. The father of a brilliant child may prohibit its further education, altogether if he likes. Similarly, provided he can pay the fees, which are usually a small proportion of the total cost, he is considered to claim only his right in inflicting a stupid or idle son on the limited accommodation for an unlimited period. The reason for the inconsistency is, of course, an economic one, which is considered sufficiently weighty to more than outweigh the interests of the pupil and the state

freely acknowledged to be paramount in the elementary schools. A small child costs little to support and cannot earn much. It is not a very great sacrifice for the parents to send it to school. But as the child approaches adolescence the burden becomes greater because there are fees to pay, and the boy might by that time be making a substantial contribution to the family's support. The father's objection is acknowledged to be reasonable, and the interests of the nation and of the boy himself are overruled.

It is not as bad as it seems. The correlation of intelligence with prosperity has many exceptions, which cannot be ignored, but there is a correlation. If a father is sufficiently well off to send one or more children to college the odds are that those children are worth educating: and if he cannot, there is at least, a probability that it is just as well. The children would very likely be unable to benefit. But the exceptions are so important that the machine must provide for them, if its working is not to be seriously hampered. We have already remarked that great and rapid worldly success is a sure indication of a mind essentially common-place. A considerable part of the mass of indigestible material that clogs the university is from this source: notably in the older and more famous institutions such as Oxford and Cambridge. It is less conspicuous in India, for reasons that need not be analysed.

Though it is true that to earn one's living by means of a superior education is to work for it, and get no very handsome return; the economic condition of this country is so wretched, and the people so poverty-stricken, that to a very great number of them the educated man's life appears to be a Heaven of ease and affluence. Where there is no industry and no commerce, education is the only way of escape from intolerable poverty. Moreover, it is impossible not to sympathise with those parents and children (in India a very great number) who thus envisage the college, not as a place where they will become acquainted with interesting

and exciting things, but as the hard and thorny path through a blank and dreary desert to a promised land where they may hope for enough to eat, and other similar "luxuries."

This is the great peril of higher education in India, namely :—the swamping of the institution by multitudes of the very poor, and the unfit for education, backed by a sympathetic public opinion which has not sufficiently considered the results that must follow. From this follows the pitiful spectacle of many thousands of young men with their attention concentrated solely on examination papers, and the (to them) incomprehensible formulæ that will satisfy the examiner, imagined to be a ruthless, heartless, but immensely powerful devil who will ruin them if they alter the correct formula by as much as a word. (Examinations have their place in the educational system, but this frame of mind is all wrong. The right attitude of the examinee to the examiner is :—"You didn't think of that, did you? Am I not a clever fellow? You can please yourself about passing me, but if you don't you don't know your own business.") There is no hope for the nation whose young men begin their lives in fear and doubt.

For a very long time to come the provision for higher education in India must continue to be very insufficient for the young people fitted to receive it. There is a population of 370 million 90% illiterate, and even so all colleges are over-crowded. Thousands are turned away every year. As illiteracy is reduced thousands more will emerge equally fit. It is certain that provision for all the fit will not be available for many generations. Every unfit youth occupying a seat is keeping a fit one out.

It is at least a debatable proposition that it is better to leave a people entirely uneducated than, to attempt to educate the wrong section. In both cases the fit are neglected. In the second we have the additional injury, that large numbers are lifted from the environment where they might be happy and useful, to one in which they can be neither.

It is very widely assumed that the standard to which students must be trained is fixed by the teachers and governors of the institutions where they are taught. It is not. If a teacher is a teacher at all, he watches his class at least as carefully as he considers the problem he is explaining. If he finds that to a large section of the class it is too difficult, he has no alternative as a reasonable man, to abandoning it and trying something easier. If there is an external examiner to be satisfied at the end, he cannot simply plough ahead and be branded as incompetent because he has 100% of failures. He must, and usually does drill his students instead of teaching them. The most useful formulae are committed to memory, and hundreds of examples are worked out not one of which the class really understands. If the examiner has written a text book, that is also crammed. A fair degree of success (in passing examinations) may be and is attained along these lines, a good memory and an enormous capacity for uninteresting labour being characteristic of the Indian student. But this kind of thing is not education. The student possesses his knowledge only in the same way that a gramophone records or a book possesses knowledge. As a mere store of knowledge the book is more satisfactory inasmuch as it says nothing, till it is asked, and required no food in the mean time.

If an examiner likes to give his mind to it, he can always set a paper that will completely defeat the man who has remembered his formulae without understanding them. Some examiners customarily do so. One of two results always follows. The institute concerned does not appoint that examiner a second time, or it definitely instructs him to pass a reasonable percentage of the candidates. Always and inevitably the standard is made to fit the class. Every unfit student admitted makes his contribution to this degradation of the college. Hardly any one could be found to question the rightness of giving as much assistance as possible for further study to a student with a brilliant record. Considering, how many popular convictions there are inconsistent

with such a course, it is indeed remarkable how unanimous the public verdict is on the point. We have pointed out the most glaring one. Effective assistance of the brilliant student is quite incompatible with wholesale admission of those who are not brilliant: firstly, because there is not room for both, and secondly, because even if there were, the teacher could not be allowed to teach his brilliant students, and leave the others merely bewildered.

Another popular conviction quite inconsistent with giving scholarships to the top of the class instead of to the bottom is the idea that the main purpose of education is to relieve the poverty of those of this generation who are poorest. Because of the correlation of prosperity with intelligence it will be found in nine cases out of ten that the ablest member of a class is the one who needs help least, not only inasmuch as he depends on his father, but also inasmuch as he depends on himself. If help is to be given to those who need it most, most scholarships must go not to the brilliant student, but to the most dull.

Inasmuch as this is done the college becomes a charitable institution operating for no end beyond the alleviation of poverty in this generation only; to some extent at the tax-payers' expense, but in the main at the expense of the ultimate employer of the student, and of succeeding generations. Of this tripartite penalty, by far the greatest is the third part, as we tried to show in the preceding article. How great it is we will never know.

It is probable that once the elimination of the unfit becomes a recognized principle there will be pressure from the teachers to overdo it. A class that contains nothing but first grade men almost teaches itself a delightful, and all too rare an experience for the teacher. On the other hand there will be weighty social pressure tending to the preservation of the present system. The task of impartial public opinion will be at first to favour the teacher's natural desire for good material and ultimately, to

call a halt when that stage is reached at which, the merely slow and not necessarily hopeless students come to trial. The drawing of the line will be a very difficult and delicate operation requiring the good will of every one connected with education for many years to come, if indeed an entirely satisfactory solution is at all possible. It is hardly too much to say that so far it has not been attempted. As a basis of discussion in the absence of any real experience we may suggest the following principle of selection.

It ought to be a part of the religious teaching, from the very first, that every man's duty is to get himself into the position in which he can best serve the community, that no honour attaches to those positions we are accustomed to call high, or disgrace to those we are accustomed to call low, provided they are filled on these principles; and that a man has no reason to be either proud or ashamed of his inherited faculties. They are to be regarded rather as the sealed orders of God, indicating a man's course in life, which, when the Education has unsealed them are to be obeyed without further question. On the fidelity of this obedience, should depend the honour attaching to the career. When the children from the Elementary Schools are made to see in the Roman Sentry of Pompeii, a figure more deserving of attention, than that of, say, Napoleon Bonaparte, they may be trusted to select themselves, either for more or, no more school in many cases, and the teacher will have only to assist them in finding out where they stand. There is no pleasure in following up a course of study only partly apprehended. Only a false ideal of success in life can impel the student to do it, or his parents to desire that he should.

The familiar criticism, that we ought rather to try and encourage the dormant faculties, and leave the active ones to look after themselves is now about due, and must be forestalled. If admitted to be well-founded it would, of course, entirely invalidate the principle of selection by fitness. Its exponents

generally begin with a statement which at first sight appears axiomatic. They say, that the fullest and most complete life is that which has the greatest number of interests. They say nothing about the intensity of those interests. They say that in the course of a life devoted entirely to, say science, the unused talents become atrophied and dead, instancing the case of Charles Darwin, who became stone deaf towards the end of his life, and dead to all the artistic and emotional side of life. They do not say however, that Darwin's life was a failure, nor do they seem to see any significance in the fact, that he ultimately died altogether and that when that occurred the cultivated faculties became so far as we know as extinct as the uncultivated ones. There is no evidence that any of the faculties Darwin possessed in early life were lost to his race. His children are still with us and though they are, as might be expected, highly gifted they are not monstrosities with no consciousness of anything outside biology, as they ought to be, if there is any danger to the race in following one's natural bent. On the contrary, their careers would appear to indicate that his line is returning to the normal, the suggestion that Darwin would have been happier himself and more useful to us, if he had devoted the greater part of his time to the fiddle, and reserved biology as an escape valve to preserve his sanity is pure nonsense.

The admittedly necessary task of preserving normality is altogether outside the domain of Education. There are natural laws at work which repress all attempts of individual families to depart permanently from the average of the race.

The royal houses of Europe originate in every case in men of abnormal talent for military science. They have taken extraordinary care to mate only with the sons and daughters of families of similar origin. Much the same can be said of the English House of Lords, though it is perhaps not so purely military in origin. It is rooted however in exceptional ability. In both cases if we eliminate the new arrivals and consider

nothing earlier than a grandson of the family's founder, the most conspicuous character of either king or lord is his absolute normality. The enemies and the friends of these institutions would gladly support their cases by reference to the conspicuously evil or good qualities of their human constituents, if the most anxious scrutiny would only reveal any such qualities. As it is the opposing party is reduced to proving that kings and lords are no better than other people and the supporting party to demonstrating that they are no worse.

So far we have written of the selection as if it were merely a separation at various stages of those who are to proceed with their education from those who are not. There is however a network of other classification problems to be solved before even this can be done with any justice. Among the great mass of material that presents itself in the elementary schools there are individual peculiarities which make the task of deciding which are the intrinsically able and which are not, and exceedingly difficult one calling for very highly expert knowledge for its completion.

Laura Bridgeman who was blind, deaf and dumb from birth turned out to be an exceptionally intelligent child when, at last a method had been found of getting at her mind. There are children neither deaf, dumb nor blind who appear at first sight as impervious as she must have appeared to the non-expert. We do not all learn by the same methods. One must have all his facts expressed as mathematical equations before he can digest them, another requires them to be written out in words, a third has to have everything shouted at him, and a fourth does not begin to learn until he is given some sort of laboratory apparatus to play with. And when you have separated them into groups, depending on their methods of apperception, you have still to consider the speeds at which they learn. It is possible that the child slow in early years is usually the one that goes further in the end. If such a one is put into a fast class it will be left behind and derive no benefit whatever

after the first week or so, since all knowledge is a building of one brick upon another, which cannot be proceeded with if the first bricks are missing.

The fast child in the slow class is bored to death, loses interest, and like the foolish hare of the fabled race with the tortoise goes to sleep and gets left.

And then there is the memoriser, with a mind like an infinite expanse of photographic film and very often just as shallow. The teacher simply loves him. His answers are always exactly right being merely a reproduction without any subtraction or addition of what the said teacher has told him. In the later stages of his education he collects degrees and scholarships to any extent. In after life he becomes a teacher or a clergyman as a rule. Except as a very convenient sort of two-legged encyclopaedia that does not require an index, he is only a moderately useful citizen. Whether we decide to try and make him think (probably a waste of time) or frankly to load him up as a book of reference, we must teach him separately. In a class of other students, he is an unmitigated nuisance.

We might continue to quote examples on these lines, until the types enumerated became as many as the individual students. In the ultimate analysis every man and woman is unique, and class teaching can therefore never be more than a less efficient substitute for individual tuition. In as much as a class is large and direct contact between teacher and student is difficult, in so much the teaching is defective. In the mean time we have to make a beginning on the three broad lines :—

(a) Division into classes based on the apperceptive faculties (early in the school life).

(b) The separation of the intelligent from the unintelligent, (a gradual process beginning somewhere about the 16th year).

(c) The division of the fit among the various studies for which they show inclination and aptitude,—synchronous with (b).

The education of a people intended to be free depends for its success on the goodwill, the energy and the conscious aim of the pupils. The competent teacher of a properly selected class, imposes no force whatever upon it. He is a liberator of forces not his own. There is another ideal which visualises the teacher as a stern disciplinarian, driving forward his pupils towards an end which he understands, but which they cannot. This man is not an educator at all. He is a trainer of slaves. He is the only kind of man that gets positive results from an unselected mass of students.

L. D. COUESLANT

THE VISIT OF THE KING AND QUEEN OF AFGHANISTAN TO LIVERPOOL

On the night of March 29, there was moored alongside the landing stage at Liverpool, England, the trans-Atlantic liner "Scythia." The ship was a floating palace of beauty.

There were English spring flowers everywhere. From bow to stern, from deck to masthead, could be seen thousands of multicoloured electric lamps, a tracing in lines of light from the mast and funnels to the lower promenade deck, until the ship seemed to stand out like a veritable blaze in the darkness. A bedroom and private state-room, furnished in the style of the Georgian period, decorated in royal blue and silver, awaited the coming of the King and Queen of Afghanistan.

And then their Majesties came, and for the first time in the history of this great port, Royalty spent the night on board a ship in the Mersey. The ship's company manned the sides of the vessel, and as their Majesties stepped on board a bugler on the boat sounded the "Attention," and the Afghan royal standard was hoisted at the main, while the Afghan national flag already appeared at the fore.

This ship was right in the centre of 20 miles of docks, and not far from the Gladstone Dock, which is the largest in the world. Next day, the Royal party visited the Gladstone Dock and saw for themselves the almost unbelievably gigantic structure which has cost nearly eight million pounds to build. And this is but one of the many docks which accommodate ships from every part of the world, and from which ships daily go, taking the manufactured goods of Lancashire, Yorkshire, and the Midlands to every country.

Their Majesties' first visit on arrival on Merseyside was to Port Sunlight, where they saw the largest soap manufacturing works in the world. After they had been received by Lord

Leverhulme, the Governor at Port Sunlight, the Queen was presented with a bouquet by a little English girl, named Isabel Barnish, and so pleased was her Majesty that she picked up the child and kissed her. King Amanullah was delighted when he was asked to turn on the steam used for boiling up the raw materials of soap in the huge 60 ton vats. He watched happily as the little sea of foamy soap began to bubble.

Coming from Port Sunlight, their Majesties made a picturesque entry by water into the Port of Liverpool. Their car and many others were driven, with their occupants still seated inside, on to one of the large Corporation luggage ferry steamers, which was escorted across the Mersey by a whole flotilla of other ferry boats. Liverpool's water front rose up out of the grey, with the gaily-dressed Cunard liner *Scythia*, their Majesties' floating hotel during their stay on Merseyside, on the extreme right of the picture. In the foreground there was the crowded landing stage, with a cleared space on which stood out the scarlet-robed figure of Liverpool's lady Lord Mayor, Councillor Miss Margaret Beavan. The Lord Mayor presented to their Majesties Sir Archibold Salvidge, the Town Clerk of Liverpool (Mr. Walter Moon), Mr. R. D. Holt and Mr. L. A. P. Warner (Chairman and General Manager of the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board).

In Liverpool's state coach the Lord Mayor and her Royal guests and the Town Clerk, proceeded to St. George's Hall. The Afghan flags and the Union Jack flew over the hall and masses of cheering people thronged the plateau. Inside the Hall their Majesties were welcomed by the lady Lord Mayor, and in the official welcome read by the Town Clerk it was stated that "An important tie of commercial enterprise connects this community with every country in the world. We have, therefore, observed with the greatest interest and admiration Your Majesties' successful efforts for the extension and development of the trade and resources of your ancient dominions."

Sir Archibald Salvidge presented to the King, as a memento of this great port, a model of the ancient battleship "Royal Sovereign" built in the year 1673, in its day considered to be one of the finest ships in the world. His Majesty very graciously thanked the city for this gift and the welcome which had been extended to him.

The King revealed his versatility in a new direction at the Banquet given to their Majesties in the Liverpool Town Hall on the evening of March 29th. A conjuring entertainment had been provided and His Majesty not only evinced the keenest interest in it, but actually gave a little display of card manipulation and sleight-of-hand on his own account, which greatly delighted the distinguished guests present.

At this Banquet, the lady Lord Mayor said that Liverpool was one of the two greatest ports in the world and one of the greatest centres of industry. "We ship large consignments of goods, particularly of cotton, to your Dominions. We are thus intimately concerned with the welfare of your country. We trust that understanding, friendship, and the exchange of commerce, may steadily increase."

In his gracious response, the King stated that the sympathetic feeling of the English nation would prove to be a great factor in strengthening the already existing friendly relations between the two countries. "I have a great admiration and appreciation of the activities of the people of Liverpool in promoting their industry and commerce."

On the morning of the second day of their visit, the ship's officers and dock police, stood to attention as the King and Queen passed on their way to the Royal Cotton Exchange. The reception by the President and Directors of the Cotton Exchange must have been one of the heartiest ceremonies which their Majesties have yet attended.

From the moment when the Lord Mayor's coach, heralded by the cheering thousands of people in the streets, drew up at the centre doorway, to the moment when it left again, there

was a full quarter of an hour of wild cheering. Three sides of the Gallery of the Cotton Exchange were packed with the dense throng of the general public, and on the floor were hundreds of members who had stopped trading only immediately previous to the Royal arrival. They were the men who buy and sell the raw cotton which afterwards on the looms of Lancashire, becomes the cloth which finds its way to Afghanistan and India.

There were loud cheers when a gold fountain pen was presented to the King by the President of the Cotton Exchange, Mr. C. R. Taylor. With this his Majesty signed his name in the Visitor's Book. As their Majesties left, a terrific cheer broke out and from all parts of the building came the chorus "For He's Jolly Good Fellow," concluding with three cheers for the King and Queen.

In the afternoon, their Majesties attended the famous Grand National Race, at which nearly a quarter of a million people were present, people who had come from all parts of the world to see this celebrated race. Their Majesties saw five air-liners bring from the south of England loads of over 100 passengers and were themselves witnesses of a practical demonstration of the possibility of using the air for the transport of passengers. Liverpool is hoping to become the Air-Port of the North of England, as she is now its sea-port, and this example of airway travel is a portent of what is to happen in Liverpool in the immediate future.

Their Majesties saw the famous race, they saw the green turf, they saw a cheering, gesticulating mass of people; and they looked on a lovely valley which soon will give place to the wonderful industries which the new Industrial Liverpool is taking unto itself.

M. AUCKERSON

ENGLISH POETIC DICTION—1579-1830*

Words are but symbols—a mere code, the basal function of which is the representation of things or the transmission of ideas. Time and use, however, have added to the original force of words, now used singly, now combined cunningly, inner and spiritual meanings—a hidden soul, an “aura,” so to speak—which have the power to infuse into what has been commonplace the beauty or the realistic force of association, of colour, of rhythm or of form. “Home”, for instance, does not mean “one’s residence” merely; between “old Bellerus” and “Bellerus old” there is a great gulf fixed. It was the “aura” of single words and of “jewels five words long” that startled Longinus into writing, “Words are the very and peculiar light of thought” and that stirred even our realist, Mr. G. B. Shaw, to say, “I tell you that there is no word yet coined and no melody yet sung that is extravagant and majestic enough for the glory that lovely words can reveal.”

The Elizabethan period, in intenser degree than any other in the annals of our poetic history, required a language from which thought and beauty hand in hand should spring radiant. Yet strangely inarticulate was the England to which “every wind came dusty with the pollen of Greece and Rome” and new worlds unrolled their wonders. In the fifteenth century, when the literary intention of poets far exceeded their literary and intellectual power, the “golde dewdrops” of Chaucer’s speech had become fossilised, poetic language had become artificial, and an aureate lingo of “windy blasts and ventosities,” similar to that of the “rhetoriquers” of France, had been manufactured. The early translators a little later did

* Illustrated by quotations from the following texts : Spenser’s *Prothalamion* and *Epithalamion*; Milton’s *Lycidas*; Gray’s *Elegy*, *Progress of Poesy*, *The Bard*; Collins’s *An Ode on the Popular Superstitions of the Highland*; Wordsworth’s *Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood*; Shelley’s *Adonais*; and Keats’s *Hyperion*.

yeoman service in bringing home to their countrymen the *matter* of classical and Italian literatures; but of literary consciousness they had none. They seem to have had no ambition to translate the spirit, to create grace for grace. Most of them, indeed, little recognising that their language was bankrupt, were purists. Sir Philemon Holland set himself "to subdue the Roman literature under the dent of an English pen." Cheke was of opinion that "our tongue should be written clean and pure, unmixed and unmangled with borrowing." Wilson's purpose was "to speak plainly and nakedly to the common people's understanding," for "all cannot wear velvet or feed of the best." The foppery of scholars who sought to inundate the mother tongue with classicisms, "Gallo-Belgic" compounds, "inkhorn" terms generally, they deprecated. Bent upon preserving the native word and homespun idiom, they relegated English—the *Cinderella* of languages—to the ingle-nook.

The poets of the Elizabethan age, however, under pressure of the variety of their themes, the magnitude of their designs, or the poignancy of their conceptions, sought to fill to overflowing the depleted treasury of English words. Their quest was, in the main, for words which, either singly or in alliance with other words, would come home to Englishmen with the force of new ideas. In order to leaven the lump of their monosyllabic and consonantal tongue, they introduced sensuous Italian words, new words coined on the analogy of the double-barrelled terms of the French school, the classical name, the sonorous Virgilian epithet. Nor did they fail to exploit to the full the undeveloped resources of English itself. Archaic terms, new compounds struck from already familiar words, nouns used as adjectives, adjectives used as verbs, nay, even homely terms from the farms and the highways and hedges of the English countryside, were garnered in. Tricks without number were played with words once forged. A noun would appear with a henchman epithet on right hand and on left, or fling his

challenge unseconded, or disappear for a moment to be caught up later with inevitable insistence. English syntax would break into a more classical ripple in order to maintain the surge of the rhythm or bring home the beauty of literary associations. A chaotic and cosmopolitan language, it is true, and a language which to some extent merited Jonson's famous caveat; but a language also which was of extraordinary potentiality. And a man arose more than once—in Spenser, in Shakespeare, among the lyrists—to pass it into currency with the authority of genius; while Milton, the most literary of our poets except Gray, fixed it as a grand medium of epic expression before it was finally fossilised by the poets of the eighteenth century.

Perhaps it is the very cosmopolitanism of the Elizabethan poetic speech which makes it so great. The question of the true nature of poetic language has been debated throughout the ages and will probably never be settled to the satisfaction of all critics. Perhaps Ben Jonson came near the truth when he wrote, "Though (the true poet's) language differs from the vulgar somewhat, it shall not fly from all humanity." Certain it is that the chief characteristic of the Elizabethan poetic language is its natural blending of exotic beautiful words with archaisms and the vigorous and racy terms of contemporary speech. Latin words like "meditate" and ambitious "Gallo-Belgie" compounds like "heart-quelling," "love-learned," "silver-streaming," take their place naturally side by side with obsolete words and homely English terms like "gan," "adown," "whilome," "eftsoons," "shend," "dight," "the weanling herds," "their fill," "bellyful," "sweat," "batten-ing our flocks," "cream uncrudded," "rigged with curses". Both Spenser and Milton have been attacked—"Spenser in imitating the ancients writ no language;" Milton's poetic diction is "harsh". But although all charges against them may have some foundation of truth—Spenser, it cannot be denied, did not use the spoken language of his day, and Milton's voice (as in the 'Church' passage in *Lycidas*) is often uplifted with a

clashing and clanging of consonants—neither Spenser nor Milton ever “flies from all humanity.” Moreover, by some strange alchemy they turn even the basest of their metals into gold. In the lines,

“*Eftsoons* the nymphs, which now had flowers their fill,”

“Bring the *rathe* primrose that forsaken lies,”

“And *daffodillies* fill their cups with tears,”

that which is artificial is enchanted into life. One may even go further and take an uncompromising attitude—it is largely the artificial which enchants the lines into life.

The Elizabethans, like Browning, must have thought that “adjectives in poetry are analogous to colour-tints in painting.” The poems of Spenser and Milton are studded with “colour-epithets”—epithets which have a value beyond their dictionary value, which bring up a vision to the eye, a melody to the ear, a scent to the nostril, a reminiscence to the memory. The “vermeil roses,” “silver brood,” “crystal flood,” “radiant Hesper,” “forests greene,” “blue silk riband,” “silver-scaly trouts,” “silver-streaming Thames,” “yellow locks like golden wyre,” “rudded” and even “budded,” “dewy leaves,” “rosy morn,” “trembling air,” “aged back” of *Prothalamion* and *Epithalamion* are paralleled in *Lycidas* by “myrtles green,” “myrtles brown,” “ivy never sere,” “pansies freaked with jet,” “enamelled eyes,” “honeyed showers,” “sandals grey,” “flashy songs,” “scrannel pipes,” “gushing brooks,” “pensive head.” Very occasionally these “colour”-words are introduced with startling effect. Milton’s

“ whose lean and flashy songs

Grate on their scrannel pipes of wretched straw,”

and Spenser’s

“ Goodly vermeil stayne, like crimson dyde in grayne”

are as forcible, though in a quite different way, as Shakespeare’s great weal-like line,

“ And on thy blade and dudgeon gouts of blood,”

or his

“The multitudinous seas incarnadine.”

But these startling effects are the exception, not the rule, in Elizabethan poetry outside the drama, where they are to be expected. It would be difficult to pick out of *Prothalamion*, *Epithalamion* and *Lycidas* twenty words that are not “colour”-words. But the function of the remaining hundreds is not so much every now and again to bring off some special effect as to create for the surface-meaning a coloured background of gossamer delicacy, a subdued but insistent musical commentary and a suggestive recollection of things long loved but half forgotten.

We have arrived at this decision from a consideration of two fairly obvious facts; first, that our poets are inordinately fond of half-tone epithets; second, that in settling the order of their words they have been guided primarily by the ear. The frequency with which words like “goodly,” “fair,” “glorious,” “greenish,” “lovely,” “sweet,” “pallid” are used is positively extraordinary, in Spenser especially; and the effect of this frequency is to merge the definite, or what may be called the *primary*, words—“green,” “blue,” “glistening,” “yellow,” “silver,” etc.,—into one another so as to create a subdued and consistent background, or, to vary the figure, to weave *primary* words unostentatiously but inevitably into the fabric of poetic speech. The tendency to use the half-tone is noticeable even in the rhymes, where often a rhyming word is caught up and re-echoed when it has been half forgotten. Spenser’s eye-rhymes—“brood” and “flood,” for example—by which the eye but not the ear is satisfied, have the same purpose behind them and produce a similar effect.

With regard to the succession of words, obvious devices are employed in order to maintain an undercurrent of poetical music. Generally the normal English order is observed, and often with extraordinary effect. “Silver-streaming Thames” does not bring a radiant vision to the eye merely: it assails the ear with

the swift flow of untroubled waters. "Came softly swimming down along the lee" is one of those wonderful lines in which the onward-stealing vowels (if the vowel-music does alone create the effect—which is doubtful) create the real meaning, and in which the dictionary meaning is of but secondary importance. Often, however, the normal order is broken. The epithet may take its place in its (to use an inadequate word) emphatic position after a noun, as in "Bellerus old," "sandals grey," "curses dark," "Alona high." Or an adjective preceding may be supported by another following the substantive, as in "sad occasion dear," "hazel copses green." Or the emphatic word may redouble its force by being given the emphatic position at the head of the line, as in

"Flames in the forehead of the morning sky."

Or the words may be chosen and arranged for alliterative effect, often obviously, as in "Flames in the forehead," "down the stream was sent," "shores and sounding seas," "Flowers their fill," "Adown the lee that to them murmured low;" often with subtlety, as in "along the lee," "ivy never sere," "joyous leaves to thy soft lays," "various quills". Or a classical twist may be given to the words, as in

"What time the gray-fly winds her sultry horn "

Or the poet may wish to ring the changes upon a word :

"For *Lycidas* is *dead*, *dead* ere his prime,
Young *Lycidas*, and hath not left his peer.
Who would not sing for *Lycidas*?"

"The snow which doth the top of Pindus strow,
Did never *whiter* show,
Nor jove himself when he a swan would be
For love of Leda, *whiter* did appear:
Yet Leda was (they say) as *white* as he,
Yet not so *white* as these, nor nothing near;
So purely *white* they were,....."

"His long loose *yellow* locks like *golden* wyre,
 Sprinkled with *perle* and *perling* flowers atweene,
 Do like a *golden* mantle her attyre,....."

Whatever the device employed, the final effect is a strange, elusive and haunting quality in poetry which is peculiar to the Elizabethans and has been recaptured only rarely by some Beddoes or some Blake.

No better evidence is afforded of the Elizabethan poetic impulse bursting the trammels of speech, than by the frequency with which parts of speech are interchanged, the profusion of "y" endings, the resurrection of the Old English habit of creating new and convincing compounds out of familiar words, and the occasional use of extraordinary comparatives and superlatives in "er" and "est." "Beautifullest bride" and "joyful'st day" remind one of Carlyle. The compounds "ocean-bed," "night-watches," "self-same," "inwrought," "light-foot," sound so natural that it seems strange that they had not been thought of long before. Of "y" endings there is no end—"brickly," "scaly," "rushy," "dewy," "rosy," "watery," "massy," "oozy," "sunshiny." It is probable that the use of adjectives as adverbs was due to the loss of the M.E. adverbial ending "e". Whatever the cause, adjective-adverbs are common—"went footing slow," "loose untied"—and even in compounds such as "sweet-breathing," "smooth-sliding," "thin-spun." But as a rule any part of speech may fulfil the function of any other. "Neighbour ground" is an example of a noun doing the work of an adjective. "Shrill" appears as a verb ("to shrill aloud"), as does "joy" (as joying in the sight') and "glad" ("to glad many"). Even adverbs may become verbs, as in "Night is nighing fast." It was this elasticity and versatility of their language, no less than its power to assimilate foreign elements, which enabled Elizabethan poets to overcome that fixity of words in which Mr. H. G. Wells has seen the chief obstacle to the adequate expression of the fluidity of thought.

One matter more merits notice in so far as it affected diction, namely, the Elizabethan power to visualise ideas, to translate beauty in the abstract into concrete images. This power, which in the main, expresses itself in the metaphors and personifications, is largely based upon command of the adjective and the preference of "his" and "her" for "its." "Blind mouths," "monstrous world," "wizard stream," "beaked promontory," "Bellerus old," "Thames' broad aged back," "making his stream run slow," "Bid amarantus all his beauty shed," "the gray-fly winds her sultry horn" are simple but by no means exhaustive examples. The same power is to be seen in beautiful periphrases such as "Namancos and Bayona's hold," where the inflectional instead of the prepositional genitive at once personifies Bayona. The quest for adjectives by the Elizabethans, as well as the great use of them by Milton—his flower passage in *Lycidas* leaps to the mind,—is commonplace knowledge; and to Milton's practice the use of the "gradus-epithet" in the eighteenth century has with some plausibility been ascribed. We might with equal plausibility attribute that other characteristic of the eighteenth century—fondness for the personified abstraction—to the Miltonic use of proper names and the general Elizabethan tendency to turn natural phenomena and abstract qualities into palpable and palpitating flesh and blood.

The origin of the "gradus-epithet" and the personified abstraction, however, concern us little. It may be recorded in the passing that these may with some justification be traced, the former to Dryden's quest for beautiful adjectives in order to convey to English ears the beauty of Virgilian epithets, the latter to the practice of Homer and Virgil. But what more closely concerns us is the fact that the adjective, which had been the willing slave of Spenser, in turn became the tyrant of Pope and his fellows; and that the strange images of beauty which had sprung from the imagination of the Elizabethans with "the glory and the freshness of a dream" were, in the

more ambitious but less fertile eighteenth century, replaced by pale ghosts from the underworld of thought.

The change which came over the face of literature during the Restoration period is comparable with that which occurred during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. As Chaucer had been the last and greatest spokesman of the Middle Age, so with "dorique delicacy" Milton summed up the impulses which had created Elizabethan poetry. In the fifteenth century, no new influences (save the Ballad, which, however, had been devoid of immediate results) had appeared to save the language from petrefaction; and when new influences did appear they came slow-footed and halting before the assaults of Wilson and Cheke. At the Restoration, it was the new influences themselves which, strangely enough, tended to generalise and stultify the growth of poetic language. The sojourn of the Court abroad was responsible for the demand of battalions of French word for admittance into English. Gutter terms from the docks and cant terms from political wranglings tended to come flooding in. Charles and his courtiers—zealous patriots (!) started the vogue of vulgar English and Roger L' Estrange's journals corrupted literary taste. Nevertheless, as in all periods of transition, critics arose to discuss the medium of literature. Ascham and Cheke were reincarnated in Bentley and Locke. To these the new foreign terms were as detestable as the new gutter words, while foreign and gutter terms were no more repulsive to the scientific, critical and satirical spirit of the age than were the beautiful epithets of the Elizabethans. A compromise was demanded, a *via media* of poetic speech, a fixed medium which would not alienate taste and good sense. Even the question of an English Academy was mooted. Since the French Academy had been founded by Richelieu, it was argued, there had arisen across the Channel a poetry marked no less by its elegance and polish than by its wit and good breeding. Why should not Englishmen fix their poetic medium in order to produce poetry as elegant and as "witty" as that

of Boileau ? Though in actual fact an English Academy never came into being, Pope and his fellows did make their poetic diction a fixed medium, and in their works "wit" celebrated an unparalleled triumph.

Wit, however, had set her foot upon the neck of imagination. It was Milton and the Elizabethans, who, by breaking up Pope's cabal of words and dogma generally, set the prisoner free. The poetic medium of Gray and Collins is in large measure simply a revival of Milton's diction. "Good sense," to be sure, would not yet admit such a large admixture of homely terms as Milton's lyric muse allowed. The sedater muse of the eighteenth century did not find it necessary to interchange parts of speech : nor was she capable of enchanting words into strange harmonies. The use of the adjective too, as was perhaps natural in an age when art had superseded poetic frenzy, came to be a trifle overdone. But on the whole, Collins and Gray made free use of the old Elizabethan poetic diction. In them one continually comes across the familiar "Gallo-Belgic" compound, as in "incense-breathing morn," "solemn-breathing airs," "many-twinkling feet," "feather-cinctured chiefs," "long -resounding pace ;" the old "colour" adjectives, as in "crimson wing," "sable garb," "ruddy drops," "bloody hands," "griesly band," "azure realm," "azure deep of air," "blushing foe," "sanguine cloud," "green lap," "golden keys," "orient hues," "glimmering landscape," "strings symphonious ;" the same old "y" formations, as in "craggy bed," "mazy progress," "rosy crowned loves," "sheeny gold," "gleamy pageant ;" the same tendency to regard rivers as aged men—"old Conway's foaming flood :" and the same fondness for alliteration in noun and adjective, as in "solemn stillness," "foaming flood." The Miltonic habit of placing an adjective especially a monosyllabic adjective—after the noun is not much in evidence ; but the adjective is anything but neglected. Given a substantive, Collins and Gray seem to have thought it incumbent

upon them to support it with an epithet. They out-Milton Milton in this respect. "Twisted mail," "crested pride," "hoary hair," "shaggy side," "faded form," "droning flight," "nightly fears," "troubled air," "seraph wings," "church-way path," "storied urn," "trembling hope" are but a few rambling examples; while the first two stanzas of Collins's *Ode* might serve as a text for a treatise on the "gradus-epithet." Moreover, actual Miltonic words—"nightly" (nocturnal), "meteor," "swain," "bray" (of battle), "skirts" (edges), "warblings," "afield," "storied" "amain," "antic," "frolic" (as an adjective), "fond" (foolish), "sublime" (uplifted), "seraph," "heaves" (raises), "swart," "jocund," "viewless" (invisible), "vernal"—are borrowed wholesale. The euphonious proper names of Milton are replaced largely by personified abstractions, which evoked (but do not always deserve) Coleridge's unqualified censure, but occasionally, as in "Cambria's curse and Cambria's tears," find legitimate and not unworthy successors, and finally, the old Elizabethan fondness for an occasional Latinism is paralleled here. "Sublime," "pious," "sequestered," "science," "expects," "solitude" and other words are used in their strict Latin sense, while in "hoarser murmurs" the comparative, as in the Latin sometimes possibly conveys the sense, of "rather hoarse."

If Gray and Collins are plunderers of language, if Miltonic and classical words form the very warp and woof of their diction, they are not to be considered mere disciples of Vida. They borrow, but they do not exactly plagiarise: for in dressing their themes in borrowed robes they do adapt what they borrow to new purposes. If they sacrifice spontaneity, they often achieve the Virgilian charm of reminiscence. If "nightly fears," "glittering skirts," "drive their team afield," "hoary-headed swain," "desert-cave," "storied urn," "velvet green," "frolic measures," "Delphi's steep," "green lap," "Amazement's flight," "kindred squadrons," "pious

drops," "trembling hope" sound conventional in the eighteenth century, they at least awaken memories of our past delight in the pages of the Elizabethans or the Classics. "Nor ever vernal bee was heard to murmur there," "streamed like a meteor to the troubled air," "that rode sublime upon the seraph-wings of ecstasy," the opening passage of the *Elegy*, "with necks in thunder clothed," "the dauntless child stretched forth his little arms and smiled," and even "the heart-smit heifers" these are good in themselves; and they gain rather than lose by bringing home with the joy of things "recollected in tranquillity" memorable passages in Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, the *Authorised Version* and Virgil's *Eclogues*. And to delight is the main function of the poet.

Nevertheless, literary reminiscence is not the highest form of poetical delight. In Gray and Collins poetry ceases to be "quotidian" and tugs once more at the heart-strings; it begins again to "fill the impassioned heart, and win the harmonious ear;" yet seldom or never does it create fresh forms of beauty. "The poets' poet" once and for all showed how to build upon contemporary speech a "universal language" for poetry. Collins and Gray by eschewing almost entirely the language of their age rob their poetry of freshness and directness of appeal. Archaisms are not in themselves objectionable: in the hands of great poets they are justified by the event. The wholesale adoption of the literary speech of a past age to the almost entire exclusion of contemporary speech is more reprehensible: but this also, as in the case of the *Authorised Version* and Gray's *Elegy*, can be defended. What is indefensible in poetry is the deliberate neglect of definiteness. Mastery of the detail is the basis of all art, and when a poet substitutes for vivid delineation of significant detail terms which convey formless impressions, he lays himself open to the grave charge of vagueness. Vagueness in itself has often a distinct poetic value, but this poetic value varies in proportion to the poet's power over detail. Spenser's kaleidoscopic

imagery, for instance, never fails to bring the picture clearly to the mind. Eighteenth century poets, however, though there is little doubt that their "middle style" produces a clearness of general argument which is foreign to, say, *Paradise Lost*, are unconvincing in detail. Their fondness for personified abstractions is partly responsible. Sometimes, as in "Youth at the prow and Pleasure at the helm," these come almost with the force of Shelley's "Sleep the filmy-eyed ;" but more often than not, as Coleridge has pointed out, the difference between the personification and the mere abstraction is marked only by the use of a capital. Partly responsible is the use of general instead of particular terms. "Warble" is a beautiful word, but when applied to the song of any and every bird it ceases to convince. "Lawn" and "green," not objectionable in themselves, are worn thin by use and have an irritating habit of being either "margent" or "festive." "Tribe" is quite conceivably a poetic word, but "swart tribes" for Milton's fairies and "feathered tribes" for "birds" are not only indistinct but positively ugly. Most reprehensible of all, perhaps, is the *gradus-epithet*. Spenser and Milton had chosen adjectives for their musical, pictorial or historical "aura" : in the *Odes* of Collins and Gray epithets are too often determined by the exigencies of metre and the practice of previous poets. Collins's "spreading broom," "skirting way," "excursive sight" are intelligible to the intellect but poetically meaningless : and it is on the "spreading brooms" and "excursive sight" of eighteenth century poetry that the reader's surfeited appetite sickens and dies.

The First Romantic Group of poets, by basing their diction once more upon the common speech of their day, sought to restore to poetry freshness, directness and definiteness of appeal. It is generally recognised that Wordsworth, in prescribing for poetry "the language of rustics," pushed his theory of poetic diction too far. Identifying poetry with religion, he

claimed for "rustic" language that power to appeal strongly to the reason and the feelings of men from which the general conventional and fossilised poetic diction of the eighteenth century had been divorced. His claim, partly justified by his insistence on the use of imagination, was founded on a false hypothesis. Poetry is not religion: and if we believe (as we must believe) with Dryden that poetry instructs only as it delights, we must regard Wordsworth's attempt to unletter language, to deprive words of their derivative meaning and to use them in their pure and original force, to start poetry afresh with words robed of their "colour," as ill-conceived and futile. Moreover, in the matter neither of poetic words nor of poetic detail did Wordsworth in theory uphold the principle of selection. The medium of poetry and the medium of prose were to him identical: not merely significant but also circumstantial detail was to him the object of sacramental care. Nevertheless, if Wordsworth's theory was an exaggeration, it was an exaggeration of a truth; for though a man of genius may now and then successfully use a manufactured medium for poetry, yet for poets generally the surest medium must always be the language, carefully selected, and seasoned, it may be, with "inkhorn" terms, with which they have been familiar from childhood. It is significant that Wordsworth himself, when in inspired mood, carefully selected from the language of his own day; while Shelley, who is perhaps our greatest lyrist, is singularly normal in the matter of words.

In the *Immortality Ode* nearly every word is a common word and every word is calculated to appeal with power to the intellect and the feelings, no less to the imagination. Scarce a single archaism is employed. Adjectives, when they are used at all—as in "common sight," "calm weather," "starry night," "utter nakedness," "natural kind," "perpetual benediction," "homely nurse"—come home with original and convincing force; but as compared with the Odes of Spenser, Milton, Gray and Collins, Wordsworth's *Ode* is destitute of

epithets. As in a few passages of Milton, notably some of the Adam and Eve passages of *Paradise Lost*, nouns and verbs share the burden of the thought and create the beauty. And Wordsworth does not, like Spenser, ring the changes upon words: there are no long, purely sensuous words which create the motif of the piece, and upon which the imagination may float and the intellect slumber. "In darkness lost, the darkness of the grave" is almost a solitary example of repetition for effect or "turn of expression." Nouns, verbs and adjectives as a rule ring once and once only, beautiful and thought-compelling. In the selection and arrangement of these keystone words, Wordsworth is anything but blind to the "visionary gleam" of colour. "Apparelled in celestial light" at once recalls the Transfiguration, "the little actor cons another part" is reminiscent of Jacques, the vowel arrangement in "the glory and the freshness of a dream" recapture our first delight and wonder on the threshold of fairyland. The imagery of the poem, too, is concrete. The "feathered songsters," "verdant groves," ("grove" is once used, but in its original and proper sense) and "flowery tribes" of the eighteenth century have quite disappeared—

"The cataracts blow their trumpets from the steep";

"But there's a tree, of many, one,
A single field which I have looked upon,
Both of them speak of something that is gone:"

"The pansy at my feet
Doth the same tale repeat—"

Wordsworth, indeed, insists upon the significance of the individual—

"To me the meanest flower that blows can give
Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears"

and in his use of concrete and significant detail he is in line with the Elizabethans and the romantic poets of the nineteenth century.

Shelley, like Wordsworth, belonged to the priestly order of poets. He sought to familiarise the imaginative reader with "beautiful idealisms of moral excellence." It is not strange therefore, that Shelley's poetry is in line more with Wordsworth's gospel as it affected both a moral outlook on the world and a reformation of poetic diction than with the practice of Keats, the first of the "artful" poets of the nineteenth century. *Adonais*, like Wordsworth's *Ode*, seldom calls up memories of former poets (there is a notable exception in "A herd abandoned deer") and is surprisingly free from archaisms, euphuisms, neologisms and other strange terms. The words used are perhaps not quite so homely as those of Wordsworth, and certainly the adjective is more extensively used, often with fine "colour" effect, as in "liquid rest," often, as in "vital air," in their original force. Moreover, the language is more figurative than Wordsworth's. Like Gray's Odes, *Adonais* is crowded with personifications: unlike them, it teems with life. There is scarce one line in which the poet's imagination fails at once to fill the eye and ravish the ear. Nay, there are passages marked by that "subtle language within language" of symbolism which had characterised many of the poems of Blake and was to distinguish the poetry of Rossetti and Francis Thompson. Nevertheless, it was a disciple of Wordsworth a priest rather than a conscious artist, who created the language of *Adonais*.

If Wordsworth and Shelley never did manage to unletter their language, many of the First Romantic Group, notably Scott, Campbell and Mrs. Hemans, did. Nevertheless, the practice of these represents but one of two main features of poetic diction in the nineteenth century. The other is manifested in the mosaic-like work of Tennyson, the "made" language of William Morris and the euphuistic diction of not a few moderns. Whereas Wordsworth and Campbell appealed to the heart primarily, these others forged a diction which should appeal primarily to the senses. Keats headed the band

of these artists in words. Like Dryden, he was willing to "trade with the living and the dead" in his quest for beautiful words. Following the example of Spenser, he was not slow to coin from existing elements or to interchange parts of speech. Perhaps the most artful of romantic poets, he was scrupulously careful with words. He did not consciously "hunt them down" as Chatterton did. Rather did he, as Mr. de Selincourt remarks, accept frankly as his poetic birthright the language of the writers, ancient and modern, whom he read most assiduously and base upon it his own manner of expression. Keats was therefore a literary poet. Like Milton and Gray and Tennyson, he constantly recalls memories of older writers. The following, for instance, is reminiscent of Milton's use of proper names and fondness for elipsis:—

" All were not assembled :
Some chained in torture, and some wandering.
Coeus, and Gyges, and Briareus,
Typhon, and Dolor, and Porphyryon,
With many more——."

"Mammoth brood," "glancing sphere," "marble swart," "orbed fire," "shook horrid" recall Milton and Shakespeare; while old usages are revived in "couchant," "pale wox I," "and the which book," "vermeil," "sovrán," "lorn," "eterne."

More interesting, perhaps, than Keats's borrowings are his positive additions to poetic speech. Following the practice of the Elizabethans, he crowds his poem with freshly minted "y" formations, beautiful compound adjectives and compound nouns, parts of speech endowed with strange functions, and familiar terms from the speech of his day. "Slaty ridge," "briny robes," "scummy marsh;" "at shut of eve," "stubborned with iron," "to *engine* our great wrath," "his chariot, foamed

along," "so young Apollo *anguished*," "to fever out," "palm-shaded," "tiger-passioned," "lion-thoughted," "bleak-grown," "spirit-leaved," "farfoamed," "unfooted sea," "branch-charmed," "aspen-malady," "region-whisper"—all these are coined on the best authority and with intent to express exact shades of meaning: all these, moreover, are justified by the event. In a similar fashion, the sole representatives of the "ing" endings to which Mr. de Selincourt takes exception—"destroyings" and "sable curtaining of clouds"—come off with fine effect.

Keats's employment of language is not always impeccable, however. Especially unfortunate are his vulgarisms, words frankly unpoetical or debased by trivial associations. There is something of the burlesque in

" Their clenched teeth still clenched, and all their limbs
Looked up like veins of metal, cramp and screwed,"

and in

" Prone he lay, chin uppermost,
As though in pain ; for still upon the flint
He ground severe his skull with open mouth
And eyes at horrid working."

"Brawniest in assault" is scarcely poetically applicable to a god; and even "gold clouds metropolitan," in spite of the Miltonic order and vowel-music, is a little frayed and down-at-heel. "Explain thy griefs" is weak. "Speak, roar, shout, yell," intended for a climax, is bathos. The vulgar use of "so," "also" and vague "sorts of" expressions is evident in "I strive to search, wherefore I am so (*i.e.*, inconceivably) sad," "Also, when he would taste the spicy wreaths," "In her bearing was a sort of hope." Nor is Keats's touch always sure in his Elizabethan usages. "Open thine eyes and

sphere them round upon all space " is an unconvincing euphuism. "A serpent's plashy neck " and "With sanguine feverous boiling gurge of pulse " are frigidities. Nevertheless, in *Hyperion* as a whole we find, as we found in the Elizabethans, beauty recreated and enthroned and

" 'tis the eternal law
That first in beauty should be first in might."

ARTHUR MOWAT

THE REALITY

Caressingly on naked flesh, the sunlight,
Lingering, draws my drowsy thoughts away
From gods and beggars, nightmares that have plagued me
Since the Algerian hills were lost in grey
Somewhere to leeward; and, in deep content, I
Turn to our unforgotten yesterday.

Time has not wholly dulled our youthful glamour;
Dreamers we were, and are, in spite of Time.
You, crouched myopic over ponderous ledgers,
Have the old ear for music and for rhyme,
And I can still remember you and London
In this remote, unsympathetic clime.

Poplars and dead leaves and the season's quiet ;
The rustling of the leaves, the smell of rain :
These were enough for us, lad, in the old time,
When once a year they steadied bone and brain.
Now I am gone from you and them, and ever
Ebbs youth from us, never to come again.

Of old we found the legendary twilight
And peace the turn-coast years cannot repeal,
Lightness of heart and faith in our endurance—
All the good braveries that reverses steal
From men who pass, watching the wake behind them
Stream out and swirl, relapse, and grow unreal.

And so, while memory's young and heart's enchanted,
We'll muse a little on glories we've outgrown :
Punting together down a rain-swept river,
The firelit cottage that was once our own ;
The quarrels and the mutual confessions,
The fun we've shared, the people we have known.

What though the past has fallen from us? Surely
We would not live them over if we could—
Those days that gain in beauty as they crumble,
Dissolve, and crystallise into immortal good :
Deliverance from the hopeless hours before us,
The one reality in our Solitude.

F. V. WELLS.

THE INFLUENCE OF INDIAN THOUGHT ON GERMAN PHILOSOPHY AND LITERATURE

Germany received its first news of India from the Greek and Latin authors, who were studied during the Middle Ages in the schools of the monasteries and who absorbed more and more of the interest of the educated classes of the nation during the time of the Humanists. Indian influence on Greek Philosophy is found in Pythagoras, with the Neo-Platonics and Gnostics, the influence of Indian legends on the devotional books of the Christians—I am thinking of the apocrypha, of the story of Barlaam and Josaphat—all these found their echo indirectly in our intellectual life, although we are unable to state distinctly how far it reached. Certainly there are amazing coincidences between the doctrines of the German mystics like Meister Eckehard and the grand conceptions of the Upanishads, but Indian influence cannot have worked directly. On our mysticism it must have come through the mediation of a long chain of links, if it actually existed at all. Many scholars are of opinion that mystic ideas of the One, which manifests itself in every life, may have originated independently in the various countries, so that we can talk here rather of parallelism than of dependence. If we cannot trace the influence of Indian ideas in the dim obscurity of the German mediæval mysticism, but only assume an inner relationship, the case is quite different as regards literature, where Indian influence is evident. Of many stories it can be proved that they wandered from India to the West, although it is impossible for us to follow the stages of the way which the various stories took to get to Germany and which form they assumed before they made a home for themselves in our German literature. The way, for example, which the Panchatantra took is quite clear before our eyes. This celebrated fable-work was translated by command of Eberhard “with the Beard” by Anton von Pforr into German, of course, not from the original Sanskrit but from a Latin

translation, which itself was derived from Hebrew, Arabian and Pahlavi versions.

Better knowledge of India and its literature, however, did not come to Germany till after the discovery of the maritime route to the East-Indies by Vasco da Gama in 1498, when European travellers visited India and reported of all they had seen and heard. The credit of having for the first time translated an Indian text direct from the original into a European language belongs to a Dutchman, the missionary Abraham Roger, who worked in Paliacatta (north of Madras) in 1630. Roger left a voluminous work which appeared in Dutch at Leyden under the title of "Open Door to the Hidden Paganism," of which a German translation appeared already in Nuremberg in 1663. At the end of his work Roger gave a prose-translation of 200 maxims of the Sanskrit poet Bhartrihari—the 100 verses of the third century of the Shringâra-Shataka he did not dare to give to his readers. These 200 maxims, the translation of which Roger made with the help of the Brahmin Padmanâbha, form the first instance of Indian literature which became known in Germany after the Panchatantra. Roger's work for a long time remained the chief source, from which the West drew its knowledge of the religion and the literature of the Hindus. Even Goethe and Herder are still influenced by it. Gradually the acquaintance with the culture of the land of the Ganges became broader, but the circumstances were so that the information on Indian religions were often incorrect. One of the chief sources on which the 18th century relied, was a translation of the "Ezour-Veda." This work was supposed to be a commentary to the Vedas, in which Christian occidental monotheism was taught, but was in fact a forgery used by missionaries for the purpose of conversion.

Actual investigation of Indian literature only began at the end of the 18th century. From that time on we can talk of an increasing influence on Western thought by the Indian world of ideas. The first Sanskrit scholars were Englishmen: Sir

Charles Wilkins, the translator of the *Bhagavadgītā*, Sir William Jones, the translator of the *Shakuntalā*, of the *Gītāgovinda*, of the Ordinances of Manu, and so on, Sir Henry Thomas Colebrooke, the expounder of Indian philosophy, H. H. Wilson, the translator of the *Meghadūta*; then we have the Frenchman Anquetil Du Perron, who translated the Upanishads from the Persian versions of Sultan Darashekoh. From the work of these men and other scholars German poets and thinkers drew their knowledge of the spirit of Indian thought. A glance at the works of our German classical writers shows how amazing was the influence of Indian ideas on the great men from the very first, when they became acquainted with them. Already Herder (1774-1813), the prominent poet and philosopher who lived as a divine in Weimar, showed a great and so-to-say loving interest for India; in his "Thoughts on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind" (1784-1791) and other writings of his he speaks of his admiration for the "tender Indian philosophy," which cannot but ennoble mankind; he describes the Hindus, on account of their ethical teachings, as the most gentle people on the earth, who, as he says in consideration of their doctrine of "ahimsā," will not offend a living creature, he praises their frugality, their loathing of drunkenness. In his "Scattered Leaves" he speaks more than once of the Indian Wisdom, he mentions the transmigration of souls and in his "Talks on the Conversion of the Hindus by our European Christians" he allows an Indian to defend his religious ideas and praises their humanity, although he himself was a Protestant theologian.

A great interest for Indian ideas we also see in Herder's friend Goethe, the greatest of all German poets. Well-known are his inspired verses on the *Shakuntalā*, where he says (I am giving a proof translation):

Wilt thou unite in one name heaven and earth,
Then I name you, *Shakuntalā*, you, and all is said !

That this impression conceived at the first reading—the distich dates from the year 1791—was not evanescent is proved by the following letter addressed to the French Sanskrit scholar Chézy, to whom Goethe wrote 40 years later, on the 9th October, 1830. He says: “The first time when my notice was drawn to this unfathomable work, it aroused in me such an enthusiasm, it attracted me in such a way that I could not be quiet until I studied it profoundly and felt myself drawn to the impossible undertaking to gain it for the German stage in some way.....I grasp only now the inconceivable impression which this work formerly made on me. Here the poet appears at his highest, as representative of the natural state, of the most subtle wisdom of life, of the purest moral endeavour, of the most dignified majesty and the most earnest contemplation of God ; at the same time he remains nevertheless lord and master of his creation, so that he may dare to employ vulgar and laughable contrasts, which must be regarded as necessary connecting links on the organized whole.” In this high idea of the Shakuntalâ Goethe stood not alone. Schiller also has expressed the opinion that the whole Greek antiquity has produced nothing equal to the beautiful womanliness and the tender love that comes near to the Shakuntalâ in any way. Of other Indian poems Goethe, as can be gathered from his letters, has especially admired the Meghadûta and the Gîtâgovinda. The impulses coming from India gave a deal of stimulation to Goethe’s own poetical works. Indian subjects were treated in his poems “Der Gott und die Bayadere” (1797) and the “Pariah-trilogy.” The Indian drama has influenced his “Faust,” technically, as his Prologue on the Theatre shows. For Indian art and philosophy, on the other hand, he had not the right understanding. Imbued with the teaching of Greek antiquity, it was impossible for him to recognise the greatness of the art so different from all Western ideas and to estimate correctly the individuality of Indian wisdom. Goethe himself did not know Sanskrit. Still it attracted him so much that he made attempts in writing

in Devanâgarî letters, which one can still see in the Goethe-Archive.

We, however, find a more thorough-going knowledge of Indian literature among our Romantic poets. That just the Romantic poets were attracted by Indian literature and philosophy is easily explained by their views of life. In Indian thought they found their ideal of the absolute union of poetry and philosophy realised. The first to be mentioned here are the three brothers Schlegel. One of them, Karl August, who has made no name in literature, has visited India and died young in Madras in 1789. Another, Friedrich (1772-1829) is the first German, who endeavoured to really study Indian literature and its problems. Whilst he was in Paris in 1803 he learned Sanskrit, in which he was aided by an English officer, Alexander Hamilton, who was prevented from returning home by the outbreak of hostilities between England and France. The result of his study was his epoch-making treatise "Ueber die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier. Ein Beitrag zur Begründung der Altertumskunde" (On the language and wisdom of the Indians. A contribution to the foundation of antiquity), which appeared in 1808. This work had a far-reaching effect by its call "to throw light on the hitherto totally obscure fields of the remotest antiquity," by its universal conception of the history of literature which was evinced here. Friedrich Schlegel was the first man in Germany who declared that a regular history of the literature of the world is only possible, if the Asiatic nations get their due place in it. But still more than Friedrich Schlegel, who soon ceased to take an interest in India, his elder brother August Wilhelm Schlegel (1767-1845) influenced the study of Sanskrit. Friedrich Schlegel had stimulated and excited the interest in India, but had himself not the energy and time to go deeply into the study and to discover new treasures, but August Wilhelm, thanks to his amazing power of entering into totally different literary ideas, became the real founder of Sanskrit philology on German soil. As he had formerly

distinguished himself as the translator of Shakespeare, Calderon, Dante, and Petrarca and as a poet of ballads and satires, he in his later years took up, in 1814, the study of Sanskrit with the enthusiasm of a young man. In 1818 he was appointed to become the first professor of Indology at Bonn. He conceived it to be his task to apply the principles of classical philology to Indian texts. His standard editions of the *Bhagavadgītā*, the "Hitopadesa," and the "Rāmāyana" (unfinished) with critical commentaries and translations in classical Latin were the first works of this kind in Germany printed in Devanāgarī letters and show that this romantic poet was equally gifted as a first-class philologist. At the same time as A.W. Schlegel, Franz Bopp (1791-1867) had studied Sanskrit in Paris. Whilst the former especially interested himself in the literature of the land of the Ganges, Bopp (since 1821 he was professor at the University of Berlin) devoted his time to linguistics. He also edited and translated some texts, but his valuable work lies not in this direction but in his grammatical books. The immortal service of Bopp has done for the world is that he gave comparative philology the rank of a science. He did not make the similar sound of words, which might be a matter of chance or caused through its origin, the base of his investigations, but he investigated the flexion and the whole build of words, in fact, the whole formation of the language, and thereby made it evident that most European as well as the Persian and Indian languages had their origin in a primitive language as yet unfound. By this Bopp became the founder of the Indo-German science of languages, which was cultivated for a long time by the Indologists together with Sanskrit philology and had a most useful influence on it in many ways. We see here that India has also greatly stimulated German science in the domain of linguistics. The thanks which comparative philology owes to India, is expressed by the fact that a number of Indian *termini technici* are still in use employed in comparative grammars. Indian philology as founded by Schlegel and Bopp

has enjoyed a cultivation since their time as is found in no other European country. The number of Sanskrit scholars and professors is greater in Germany than in any occidental country. This is significant in so far, as the Germans are swayed only by ideal, not by practical reasons, as they have no political ambitions to follow. They share Heinrich Heine's opinion, who says in a note to his "Buch der Lieder" (Book of Songs): "Portuguese, Dutchmen, and Englishmen have brought home from India the treasures in their big ships, we were only lookers-on. But the spiritual treasures of India shall not escape us." The work of Schlegel and Bopp has been continued by Lassen, Weber, Roth, Boehtlingk, Max Müller, Buehler, Kielhorn, Oldenberg and numerous other eminent scholars. The quiet, unobtrusive work of these scholars has greatly influenced the history of literature and religion, but its influence on literature and philosophy has only been indirect. I must abstain here from setting forth the history of German Indology and of tracing the direct influences, which German science has exercised on the spiritual life of the nation. I must limit myself, on the contrary to sketching only the direct influences of Indian thought on German poets and thinkers.

Here I must mention above all two men, who were both in friendly relations with Bopp and won many friends for Indian literature in Germany, Wilhelm von Humboldt and Friedrich Rueckert. Humboldt (1767-1835) was a minister of state of the Prussian king Friedrich Wilhelm III. He belonged to the statesmen who at the same time took an interest in science. Humboldt had a fine understanding for the individuality of Indian ideas and has shown it especially in his treatise on the Bhagavadgîtâ. He says of this work: "It is perhaps the profoundest and most sublime work which the world has ever known," and said of his first reading of the Gîtâ "my permanent feeling was gratitude to the fate that I could live to read this work..." The accomplished poet Friedrich Rückert (1788-1866) has won immortal fame by his congenial and absolutely

perfect translations from the Sanskrit. He has bestowed his attention on the Vedas, the Epics and Purāṇas and also above all to the learned poetry. Of all the versions of Indian originals the best known is perhaps that of the "Nala and Damayantī" episode from the Mahābhārata, but his art of translation is best proved by his translation of the "Gītāgovinda." Here he has succeeded in giving a true version of the original text but also in recreating the rhythm and the plays on words and rhymes in perfect imitation till no wish is left unsatisfied. As a poetic interpreter of Indian poetry Rückert is still supreme in Germany, and the attempts of others to metrically render Indian works show plainly that Rückert is not to be surpassed—I am thinking of Adolf Holtzmann (1810-1870) and Count A.F. von Schack.

It is unnecessary to show what is obvious that, considering the intimate connection between literature and philosophy in Germany, philosophy also has been influenced more and more as time advanced from India. The father of modern philosophy in Germany, however, Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) hardly knew anything of Indian philosophy, as chance expressions on Oriental thoughts show. That some results of Kantian thought often coincide with the doctrines of Indian philosophical systems, cannot be denied, but we cannot therefore assume that Kant was influenced by Indian thought. It is the case rather that thinkers arrive at similar conclusions on totally different paths. For instance, Kant's theory of knowledge with its differentiation between the physical world conceived in space and time and the unknowable thing in itself lying beyond these forms of conception are similar to a certain extent to the Mâyâ-doctrine of Shankara, so that, according to Paul Deussen, Kant may be said to have "given the scientific basis for the intuitive doctrine of Shankara."¹ We also find certain parallels between the

¹ Paul Deussen : On the Philosophy of the Vedānta in its Relations to Occidental Metaphysics, Bombay, 1893. Dissimilarities between Kant and Shankara F. O. Schrader points out in his treatise "Mâyâ and Kantianism," Berlin, 1904.

Kantian and the Buddhist philosophy. It is, for instance, a fact that Kant declared a number of questions to be unsolvable ("antinomies of the rational cosmology"), which is comparable to Buddha's refusal to answer questions like "Has the world a beginning or not," "Is it finite or eternal" and so on.² Th. Stcherbatsky has called our attention to similarities between lines of thought of Kant and later Buddhist thinkers like Chandrakīrti.³ To the same Russian scholar we also owe the proof that Kant's doctrine of the categorical imperative has its counterpart in Brahmanic philosophy.⁴ Besides, he has had predecessors in his aesthetics in Indian writers on poetics, as H. Jacobi has shown.⁵

All these interesting and important but not everywhere accepted items I mention to show you how manifold relations between Kant's modes of thought and Indian philosophy can be adduced. To the subject treated here, *i.e.*, the influence of Indian thought on the philosophy of Germany, everything mentioned here is only loosely connected, because Kant, as I have said before, had no knowledge of the Indian doctrines, to which many parallels can be found in his works. In his time Sanskrit philology was still so backward that it was quite impossible for him to know anything about it.

It is a similar case with Kant's successors. In Fichte's (1762-1814) essay "Anweisung zu einem seligen Leben" (Hints for a blessed life) a number of sentences may be quoted, in which he comes near to the Advaita doctrine most amazingly. These analogies are partly so strong, that R. Otto has even attempted to give whole passages of Fichte in the language of

² R. O. Franke: Kant und die altindische Philosophie in "Zur Erinnerung an Immanuel Kant" Halle, 1904, pp. 137-139.

³ Th. Stcherbatsky: The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa, Leningrad, 1927, pp. 107, 153-154, 160-161, 208.

⁴ Th. Stcherbatsky in an essay of the Russian Academy of Science. Petrograd, 1918, pp. 359-70.

⁵ H. Jacobi: "Die Poetik und Aesthetik der Indier." Internationale Wochenschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst u. Technik. 4th year (1910) column 1379 and following.

Shankara.⁶ In Hegel (1770-1831) we can also find parallels to Indian philosophy,⁷ and especially regarding his dialectics and that of the great Mahâyâna teacher Nâgârjuna. Th. Stcherbatsky says thereon: "Hegel in his 'Phaenomonologie des Geistes' challenges common sense to point out some object which is certainly known for what, in our experience, it is, and solves the question by stating that all we really know of the object is its 'thisness,' all its remaining content is relative. This is the exact meaning of the 'Tathâtâ,' or of 'suchness,' of the Mahâyânist, and Relativity, as we have seen, is the exact meaning of the term 'shûnyatâ.' We further see the full application of the method which maintains that we can truly define an object only by taking explicit account of other objects, with whom it is contrasted, that debarring this contrast, the object becomes 'devoid' of any content, and that both the opposites coalesce in some higher unity which embraces them both. The facts are knowable only as interrelated, and the universal law of Relativity is all that is properly meant by reality. Both philosophers assure us that Negativity (shûnyatâ) is the Soul of the Universe, 'Negativität ist die Seele der Welt.' Reducing the world of fact to a realm of universal relativity, this implies that every thing cognisable is false, transient and illusory, but that the constitution of the real world depends upon this very fact. Even sensations and sense data (rûpa) which first appeared as ultimate realities, we then gradually discover to stand in relations without which they prove to be meaningless. Relativity or negativity, is really the Soul of the Universe."

Hegel has evolved his system independently. The parallels with Nâgârjuna, which Stcherbatsky has discovered, are mere coincidences of some particular results, which he has arrived at from totally different starting points as Nâgârjuna. If Hegel lived still, he would certainly be vastly astonished at Stcher-

⁶ R. Otto: "Westöstliche Mystik," Gotha, 1926, p. 30, etc.

⁷ Stcherbatsky: "The Conception of Buddhist Nirvâna," Leningrad, 1927, p. 53.

batsky's comments, for all that he had heard of Indian philosophy—of Nāgārjuna he knew nothing—had made no impression on him at all, so that in his writings he rejected everything Indian more or less roughly.

The case is quite different with Schelling (1775-1854). As it is well known Schelling has during his long life laid down more than one system. His interest for India was very lively, especially in his later life, when he worked at his "Philosophie der Mythologie und Offenbarung" (Philosophy of Mythology and Revelation) and lived absorbed in theosophical ideas. He admired the Upanishads, thought them the oldest wisdom of mankind and induced Max Müller to translate some of them for him in 1845.⁸ He placed the Upanishads higher than the Biblical books and said of the latter that "they can in no way be compared as regards real religious feeling with many others of former and later times, especially the sacred writings of India."

Of the philosophers mentioned hitherto, we could only trace an isolated parallelism of ideas and as to Schelling, Indian influence on his system can be found only for a time, but we see in Schopenhauer⁹ (1788-1860) a thinker who acknowledges that he has received from India a powerful stimulation for his own system. Schopenhauer was first introduced, whilst he lived in Weimar, in 1814, to Indian antiquity by the Orientalist Friedrich Majer. Since that time he never lost his interest in Indian thought. The library, which he left at his death, contained numerous Indological works. He admired the Upanishads highly, which he used to read in the Latin translation made by Anquetil Duperron from the Persian "Oupnekhat" as a devotional book. His enthusiastic words with which he praised the "Oupnekhat" are well known. He said: "It is wonderful how the 'Oupnekhat' breathes the

⁸ Max Müller: "Damals und Jetzt" Deutsche Rundschau XLI, 1884, p. 416.

⁹ Max Hecker: "Schopenhauer und die Indische Philosophie?" Köln, 1897.

holy spirit of the Vedas throughout! It is wonderful how he, who reads this Persian-Latin version of this incomparable work diligently and assiduously, is affected and stirred by this spirit in his inmost heart! Every line is so full of firm, defined, and thoroughly consequential meaning! And on every page we discover deep, original, sublime thoughts, whilst a high and holy earnest hovers over the whole. We breathe Indian air and original, spontaneous existence. And how the spirit is purified of all Jewish superstition drummed into us in youth and all philosophy slaving to support it! It is the most profitable and elevating reading (except the original texts) possible in the world; it is my comfort in life and will be my comfort when I die."

Beside the Vedânta he occupied himself especially with Buddhism. He signified this outwardly by placing a Tibetan Buddha statue in his study. The backward state of Indian studies in his time makes it excusable that Schopenhauer did not always clearly distinguish the various Indian systems and that he commits mistakes now and then. Although we of to-day see many things in a different light than Schopenhauer did a century ago, we cannot but marvel at the deep insight into Indian thought this great thinker acquired, if we consider the small means that were at his disposal. He often gives enthusiastic expression of his admiration for Indian wisdom. In the doctrines of the old Rishis he sees "almost superhuman conceptions," in the Indian religions he finds the "oldest wisdom of humanity," and predicts even a return to Indian wisdom, which "would cause a revolution in our ways of thought and science."¹⁰

Schopenhauer says of himself: "I acknowledge that I owe the best part of my development beside the impression of the outward world, to the works of Kant and to the holy scriptures of the Hindus and to Plato."¹¹ More than once he points out

¹⁰ "Welt als Wille und Vorstellung," II, p. 187.

¹¹ "Welt als Wille und Vorstellung," I, p. 533.

that his own system, is in accordance with Indian doctrines. If we wish to ascertain how far this assertion of Schopenhauer is true we must first of all give a short review of his system. Schopenhauer is an adherent of the subjective idealism of Kant. He says : " The world is my conception." The thing in itself, which appears in subjective perception of space and time, is, according to him, not an unrecognisable something, but that which within us manifests itself as will. This will appears in the world in various stages of objectivation. In itself it is independent of every cognition. Only at the stage of the animal kingdom it produces the intellect, lights for itself the candle, that makes it conscious of the outward world : now the world is seen as something objective, *i.e.*, as something cognisable for the recognizing subject. Thus the whole of nature from the unorganic to mankind is a number of stages of various forms of objectivation of a single undivided world-will. As the centre of all existence is the will, *i.e.*, after the definition of Schopenhauer a groundless, blind impulse, an unconscious instinct towards existence, all life is suffering. The will never finds a lasting content, for a short time a desire may be fulfilled and thereby a temporary lack of cheerlessness may be caused, but this state does not last long, because a new desire awakes, which strives for gratification. From the suffering of existence one may become free by reducing the will to silence. This is possible for a certain time in aesthetical contemplation. In the disinterested, self-contained contemplation of a work of art the subject forgets for a moment his distress. As soon as he returns to the world, he is seized all the stronger by the sorrow of existence. A really lasting liberation from the sorrow of existence is therefore only possible, if the will to live is radically denied. Not suicide, which destroys the body but not the will, but only detachment from all human desires brings liberation. The asceticism of holy men brings salvation : " with the free negation of the will to live all appearances disappear by which the world exists." " No will, no power of conception, no

world." The state of him, from whom the many coloured deceitful dreams of the world has departed, is the Nirvâna; what remains after the total cession of the will is for those who are still full of will merely nothing. But on the other hand for those in whom will has turned and denies itself this our so real world with all its suns and milky ways is—nothing.

This short sketch of the fundamental ideas of Schopenhauer shows clearly that his doctrine forms itself an independent, original work, in its totality it cannot be compared with any European and Indian system. Nevertheless we find in it, besides thoughts which are derived from Kant and Plato, also a number of Indian ideas. The pessimistic view of the world of Schopenhauer is Indian, his recommendation of asceticism is Indian as is also his doctrine of the Nirvâna. The theory of the power of the Karma, which is closely connected with the doctrine of salvation and rebirth we also find in Schopenhauer, although he only hints at them.¹² A very important conformity above all we find in Schopenhauer's conviction of the unimportance of the world's history, in which he is in accordance with all Indian systems. In opposition to the Christian doctrine and the teaching of most European philosophers, who regard the world as a process of development limited by time, Schopenhauer sees in the world something which is in continual motion but which in its inner self always remains the same. There is a development of single individuals from the lowest stages of existence to asceticism, to the Nirvâna, but there can be no creation of the world out of nothing and no state of final perfection, to which the cosmos strives to attain. If one likes one can find in Schopenhauer certain parallels to Indian aesthetics, as he regards the aesthetic contemplation as a temporary relief from the chains of the will. One may refer here to some occasional formulations of the Alankâra literature, where the superpersonal, superhuman desire of him, who enjoys a work of art, is compared with the perception of the oneness of the Self and the universal spirit,

¹² "Welt als Wille und Vorstellung," II, p. 590.

which the Yogî reaches on the summit of religious concentration.¹³ Schopenhauer, however, could have no knowledge of this ; he based his views on the Platonic doctrine of ideas.

As we have already seen, Schopenhauer believed that two systems were intimately allied with his own : the Vedânta and Buddhism. Let us therefore shortly ascertain what his doctrine has in common with these two and in which points they diverge.

With the Vedânta of Shankara Schopenhauer is persuaded that the world may be described as having empiric reality, but that in the highest sense it possesses no transcendental reality. All the variegated appearances are for him only a delusion ; the only real thing is the " thing in itself," which knows no separation by space and time. Whilst, however, for the Vedânta what exists is our eternally blessed spirituality, the Brahma, that is characterized by the attributes Sat, Cit, and Ānanda, it is for Schopenhauer a blind and therefore unblessed will. Thought is an instrument produced by the will, there is no immaterial soul. Therefore Schopenhauer cannot acknowledge the transmigration of souls, but only the manifestation of the will of a deceased person. Salvation does not consist, as the Vedânta teaches in the realisation of the all-embracing Brahma, which is pure blessedness, but in the self-negation of the eternally unfulfilled and therefore eternally sorrowful will. On the other hand Schopenhauer's foundation of morality resembles that of the Vedânta : the metaphysical basis of all morality is according to him the doctrine of monistic pantheism, the doctrine of " tat tvam asi". He says himself that his metaphysics of ethics had been the fundamental thought of Indian wisdom thousands of years ago to which he returns, as Copernicus did, to the world-system of the Pythagoreans deposed by that of Aristotle and Ptolemaeus. As a proof he quotes the celebrated verses 13, 27, 28 of the Bhagavadgîtâ :

¹³ Rasagangâdhara, Bombay, 1894, p. 23.

“Who, however, sees the supreme God live in all beings, who never vanishes, when they vanish, who sees him, is really seeing. For he who sees the same God live in everything, will not hurt himself, through himself and thus walks the highest path.”

Like the Vedânta, Schopenhauer assumes a higher and a lower cognition, to which latter he counts the doctrine of salvation taught by the great religions in a mythical form. Accordingly Christianity as well as Brahmanism and Buddhism are a sort of popular metaphysics ; they are supposed to contain the chief points of the philosophy of affirmation and negation of the will. Schopenhauer, however, has not developed this point of his system in the same way as Shankara, so that in his teaching, although he occasionally talks of providence, all theistic undercurrents are missing.

Although Schopenhauer often refers to Buddhism and his doctrine has often been called “Buddhistic,” the resemblances to special Buddhistic doctrines are not so numerous with him, as those to the Vedânta. Much of that which reminds one of Buddhism in his system is not a special property of the religion of Gautama, but rather of general Indian origin. The characteristic points of the Buddhistic system, as the doctrine that there is no existence but only continual change, the denial of a Self, the theory of the Dharmas, which co-operate according to certain laws, exist only for a moment and are continually renewed, all this we do not find in Schopenhauer. A certain parallel we find in his doctrine of re-birth without adopting the transmigration of souls, in which he directly refers to Buddhism but does not go into details about it. His “will” doubtlessly has some traits in common with the Buddhistic “Trishnâ,” but we do not find in the original Buddhism, which denies the idea of the absolute altogether, the tendency to convert the Trishnâ to the thing in itself that manifests itself in the outward world of sorrow and change. We may, however, point out that some interpreters of Buddhism,

as for instance F. O. Schrader,¹⁴ regard the "Trishnâ" as a metaphysical centre-point of the Buddhistic doctrine and thus give it a position which coincides with Schopenhauer's will as the pith of every individual. This interpretation does not, in my opinion, correspond with the facts. The Buddhistic conception, however, of Nirvâna is closely allied with Schopenhauer's view (as the above-mentioned quotation shows) in so far that our conceptions cannot be applied to the Nirvâna, as they are incommensurable with them. Further points of comparison are the denial of the assumption of a world-ruling god, the condemnation of an outward, self-tormenting asceticism, and above all the moral laws, the fulfilling of which is a necessary condition for the attainment of salvation. We have so far brought only the older Buddhism into comparison. Further parallels with the Mahâyâna-Buddhism can be adduced, as it comes very close to the Vedânta in its doctrine¹⁵ and has some features in common with Schopenhauer's morality of pity in his altruistic ethics.

What we have said shows that Schopenhauer's philosophy has received many an impulse from Indian systems and harmonises with them in many respects. It is, however, not allowable to identify it with any particular doctrine. All that we have said proves that Schopenhauer's metaphysics of the will are neither identical with the teaching of the Vedânta nor that of Buddhism, and further we must consider and keep before our eyes the fact that philosophic systems, which take birth at different times in different countries and arise from different assumptions, though they may lead to similar results, can never be totally the same.

Since the middle of the last century Schopenhauer has exercised a great influence on German thought. It is due to him

¹⁴ F. O. Schrader: "Ueber den Stand der Indischen Philosophie aus der Zeit Mahâyâtras und Buddhas," Straßburg, 1902, p. 5.

¹⁵ On the relations between Vedânta and Mahâyâna Professor Surendranath Dasgupta in his great "History of Indian Philosophy" has given ample evidence.

more than to any other that the interest of the German mind for the grand conceptions of Indian Philosophy was awakened. From Schopenhauer on we trace a number of thinkers who have followed up his system in various ways. Among the disciples of Schopenhauer it is fitting that we first mention the great Indologist, the late Paul Deussen, who was Professor of Philosophy in the University of Kiel. In his "Elemente der Metaphysik" and in his works devoted to the history of philosophy he has especially insisted on the similarities between Schopenhauer and the Vedānta system. In opposition to him the well-known translator of the Pāli dialogues of Gautama Buddha, Karl Eugen Neumann (1865-1915) has laid stress especially on the close relationship between Schopenhauer's metaphysics and the Buddhistic doctrine.¹⁰ Among the thinkers who started from Schopenhauer's philosophy, but developed his doctrine independently we will make special mention of Philipp Mainländer (pseudonym for Philipp Batz), 1841-1876, who wrote a drama on Buddha and thought to promulgate the esoteric gist of the Buddha-doctrine in his "Philosophie der Erlösung" (Philosophy of Salvation), but only gave a clear construction of his own, which had little to do with Buddhism. Schopenhauer's influence on Eduard von Hartmann (1842-1906) can only be regarded as moderate. Hartmann tries to give a synthesis of the idea of Hegel and Schopenhauer in an independent way in his "Philosophie des Unbewussten" (Philosophy of the Unconscious). He rejects asceticism, and his philosophy of history, in which he regards the world-process as the incarnation, the passion and the finally expected salvation of the Absolute, is opposed to the doctrines of most Indian systems. Still he must be mentioned here because Indian influence can be traced in his writings. In his philosophy of history he teaches that the religion of the future will be a "concrete monism," which will be a combination of the abstract

¹⁰ See, e.g., his introduction to his translation of the Dhammapada (the Path to Truth), Leipzig, 1893, p. 116.

pantheism of the Vedānta and the Judæo-Christian monotheism. That parallels can be found in various points of his system and in Indian doctrines, he has shown himself, when he declares that in one place of the Vedānta work "Pancadasha-prakarana" his "world-principle, the Unconscious, is characterized better and more exactly than by any one of the latest European thinkers."¹⁷

Through Schopenhauer, Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900) also became acquainted with Indian ascetic philosophy, but was afterwards a strong opponent of it, but he had always a high regard for the social philosophy of the Laws of Manu. Richard Wagner (1813-1883), the great composer, who was at first an admirer of Nietzsche, but became his enemy later on, remained an ardent admirer of Indian religions all his life, thus following Schopenhauer, although he has vacillated a good deal in his personal views. In his operas we meet with many Buddhist ideas; in 1855 he made a sketch of a great musical drama "Die Sieger" (the Victors), the source of which was a story of the Divyāvadāna.¹⁸ Buddhist subjects have later been treated more than once in operas. I only mention here Max Vogrich's "Buddha" (1901) and Adolf Vogl's "Mâyâ" (1905). Of the rather large number of dramas based on Indian subjects I mention Michael Beer's tragedy "Der Paria," Ferdinand von Hornstein's "Buddha" (1899), Gottfried von Boehm's "Rishya-shringa" (1909), Leopold von Schroeder's "Dârâ oder Schah Dschehan und seine Söhne," and especially Karl Gjellerup's "Das Weib des Vollendeten" (The wife of the Perfect) (1907). Of the poems which treat of Buddha's life in epic form Josef Victor Widmann's "Buddha" must be mentioned first of all. Among the authors who treat Indian subjects in novels the most remarkable are Karl Gjellerup in his "Pilger Kamanita"

¹⁷ E. von Hartmann: "Philosophie des Unbewussten" (Philosophy of the Unconscious), 11th edition, Leipzig, 1904, I, 28.

¹⁸ Compare for the following; Pero Slepcevic "Buddhismus in der deutschen Literatur," Wien, 1920.

and "Die Weltwanderer" and Hermann Hesse in his beautiful story "Siddhartha." In German lyrical poetry we also frequently meet with Indian ideas, but the limit accorded to my time forbids me from investigating it further.¹⁹

The scholars, philosophers and poets, who endeavoured to propagate Indian ideas in Germany were few, and they talked to a few. There are, however, a number of associations with more or less firm organisations, which regard it as their task to spread Indian doctrines directly and indirectly. Of these I mention first of all the spiritualistic, occultistic, and especially theosophic societies, which appeal to large circles and strive to make Indian religions widely known. The percentage of ideas derived from India varies according to the different groups and schools very much. The theosophists of the school of Mrs. Besant show most of this percentage, whilst with the anthroposophy of Dr. Rudolf Steiner, which has more adherents in Germany, the Indian element is kept more in the background. Indian views of the world are directly propagated by societies like that of the "Friends of Indian Wisdom" in Hagen, Westphalia. They lay especial emphasis on the Vedānta philosophy. A regular Vedānta Society, which performs divine service, does not exist in Germany as it does in New York. Buddhism, however, has small communities in Germany, which are pretty numerous. It is a proof of the great interest which is taken in the doctrine of Gautama, that several Buddhistic periodicals appear which interpret the "Dharma" of the lion of the Shākya race in various ways. Most German Buddhists belong to the laity, but some have tried to go "the path from home to homelessness," some have adopted the yellow garment in Ceylon or Burma, and others endeavour to practise the ascetic principles of Buddha in their homes. In Frohnau near Berlin

¹⁹ Some information is given by Slepcevic "Buddhismus in der deutschen Literatur," pp. 991-92, and by Th. Simon "Das Wiedererwachendes Buddhismus und seine Einflüsse auf unsere Geisteskultur" (The Re-awaking of Buddhism and its influence on our spiritual Culture), Stuttgart, 1903, p. 22 and following.

a Buddhistic monastery was founded some years ago, the members of which directed by a physician, who also wrote a good deal on the subject, Dr. Paul Dahlke, devote their time to ascetic exercises.

As is shown by what we have said the German public is especially interested in the religions, the philosophical systems and the classic literature of old India. The extraordinary success Rabindranath Tagore had with his lectures in Germany, the many readers the works of Gandhi have found in German translations prove that the interest of the German people in the spiritual life of modern India is very great. It is little more than a century that Indian wisdom and Indian poetry have extended their "Digvijaya" to the West. At the beginning of the last century India was no more than a word, except to a few, but to-day its spiritual treasures are well known to all the educated people and are estimated at their full worth. Much, however, is still to be done to make known the great creations of the Indians more and more to the general public, but everyone who knows anything about it will be of my opinion that in no country of the Continent a greater interest exists in Indian thoughts and ideas than in Germany. One may see in this a spiritual sympathy and affinity that keeps near to a friend also from afar, as is expressed in a Sanskrit verse of extreme beauty :

दूरस्योऽपि न दूरस्थः स्वजनानां सुहृज्जनः ।

चन्द्रः कुमुदखंडातां दूरस्थोऽपि प्रबोक्वः ॥

HELMUTH VON GLASENAPP

THE TYRANNY OF THE BODY

"Man is a mechanism of a very special kind of inconceivable complexity."

Geo. A. Dorsey.

There are times when we can but feel sincere sympathy for the man who committed suicide, and left a note simply stating, '*That he was tired of buttoning and unbuttoning*'...which process often becomes monotonous, and monotony is the curse of life, and will often induce madness or death.

Order, or system, is the first law of the Universe, 'tis true; but it will not do to allow existence to become too mechanical, for machines wear out, or go to wreck and ruin when imposed upon.

We read in the Bible "that the years of a man's life are three-score-years-and-ten" and we are told that a man should sleep eight hours, work eight hours, and recreate eight hours out of the twenty-four hours that comprise a day ; then, supposing a man lives to be seventy years old, he would have consumed a little over twenty-three years in sleep—which seems a great waste of our very limited time ; for, '*when we're dead, we're a long time dead !*' When we consider our mere Body, and realize its constant demand upon our time, our desires and freedom, we are simply appalled ! We are born, we live, we suffer, we die,...and then what ?

The intrinsic value of the human body is said to be a little over eight dollars, when reduced to its component parts, *viz.*, sugar, salt, phosphorus, ash, lime, fat, etc.—we cannot feel much vanity when we think of this !

Robert Collier says, in his remarkable work, "The Secret of the Ages," "Your body is eighty-five per cent. water, fifteen per cent. ash and phosphorus, and they in turn can be dissipated

into gas and vapor.' 'No wonder' he asks, '*Where do we go from here !*'

And yet, this cheap, worthless Body tyrannizes over us all the days of our life !—It must be bathed, massaged, manicured, shampooed, perfumed, beautified, dressed, amused and taken out for an airing.

We may have an interesting book that our *Mind* would like to sit down comfortably to read ;—No, the *Body* must be taken out for a walk ; or it demands a game of golf or tennis. We would like to "*loafe and invite the Soul, to lean and loafe at ease observing a spear of summer grass,*"—we would like to linger in some woodland dell and hear the trees of the forest all singing together ; to list the music of the birds, the crooning of the streams : No, the *Body* is an-hungered and must be fed ! And then if it gets indigestion and a bad liver, it must be physiced and pampered...it must be obeyed, and yet in spite of our utmost care and allegiance, it will lose its attractiveness, grow old, wither, die and disintegrate ; then at last it is of some real use. Walt Whitman says :

" As to you, Corpse, I think you are good manure ;
But that does not offend me,
I smell the white roses, sweet-scented and growing,
I reach to the leafy-lips, I reach to the polished breasts of melons."

Omar Khayam has much more to say on this subject :

" I sometimes think that never blows so red
The rose, as where some buried Ceasar bled ;
That every hyacinth the Garden wears
Dropt in its lap from someone's lovely head."

"And this delightful herb whose tender green
Fledges the River's lip on which you lean—
Ah, lean upon it lightly ! for who knows
From what once lovely lip it springs unseen !"

All of which gives us to pause and think ! No wonder that

Socrates asked long centuries ago : "What is man, and what can he become ?"

Will he blossom in the flowers, sing in the birds, and wave in the branches of the woodland trees ?—those millions of little electrons that go to make up the human body, which are freed and dissipated when life goes out of man ? The Life !—What is the life ?

The eminent philosopher and writer, Dr. Lion Feuchtwanger, confesses to being a materialist, in that he is a heavy eater of meat, while in theory he is a vegetarian. He said that in the prime of life he had already eaten the flesh of 8.237 cattle, 1.712 head of game, and 1.436 poultry. Of sea-fish he had devoured 6.014, and from rivers and inland waters, 2.738 fish, without counting at all the innumerable small fry, such as oysters, mussels and snails. All of which he greatly enjoyed, and yet was often depressed by the reflection of how much life had to be destroyed to maintain his own. Such is the tyranny of the Body : it demands 'its pound of flesh' and cares not from whence it comes ! Imagine the pale ghosts of those slaughtered creatures meeting Dr. Feuchtwanger on the lower astral plane, and with rebuking eyes following him around !—could there be a greater Hell ?

So much for the mere body, which we may call the Desire Body. Let us now consider the inhabitants of the Body : Job affirms,

"There is a Spirit in man and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth him understanding."

Saint Paul, and other writers, speak of the trinity of our Being as Spirit, Soul and Body ; and the Body is called, "the Temple of the Holy Ghost," which at once gives it supreme honour. While in Esoteric Buddhism we learn that the Body is in reality a nest of seven other bodies, which need not now be enumerated. It calls to mind a book I read many years ago, of

man became a *living soul*.” “ So God created man in his own image; male and female created He them.”

Man became a living soul! The body then is the chrysalis in which the soul germinates and grows its wings. When the physical body's proper function is performed, it is of no more account than is a broken shell from which the bird has flown or the torn cocoon from which the butterfly has escaped. The soul is the character of a man, and we are given the power to mould it as we will.....We?—and who are we? We are the offspring of Divine Mind, and to us is given three Guides to direct and control the Body, in which the Soul must evolve: the Conscious Mind, the sub-conscious and super-conscious Minds: the vast powers and wonders of which are only beginning to dawn upon the comprehension of man.

The conscious mind more or less controls the desire body, and, says Collier, “ If you will depend less upon the ten per cent. of your abilities that resides in your conscious mind and live more to the ninety per cent. that constitutes your sub-conscious, you can overcome all obstacles. Remember this——there is no condition so hopeless, no life so far gone, that mind can not redeem it.” For, “up in your sub-conscious mind is a Master Chemist with all the formulae of Universal Mind to draw upon, who can keep that chemical laboratory of yours making new parts just as fast as you can wear out the old.”

The sub-conscious mind is in reality a Magician, who can carry out our demands as the Genii of the lamp did Aladdin's!

The sub-conscious mind retains the memory of all our past experiences and lives, of all we ever read or thought, and can reveal them to those who, by development, becomes its master.

The super-conscious mind is the fount of wisdom that finds its spring in the Heart of God, and when we learn to tap its source we will become one with the Creator of all life.

This is a scientific age, and biologists and scientists are making new and wonderful discoveries. It appears that man is

still evolving : much is now said of the influence of the adrenal glands upon the character, and body of the human being. It is possible, we read, that by stimulating or reducing the activity of these glands we may alter human character, control human passions and emotions, renew our youth, prolong life indefinitely, and keep all of our mental powers awake and aware.

Over two thousand years ago King David said, "I am fearfully and wonderfully made.....My substance was not hid from Thee when I was made in secret, and curiously wrought in the lowest parts of the earth. Thine eyes did see my substance yet being unperfect ; and in Thy Book all my members were written, which in continuance were fashioned, when as yet there was none of them."

So the body of man was created by a design and for a design : "we were clothed with skin and flesh, and fenced with bones and sinews," for the sole purpose of being the habitation of the Soul, in which it has to have experiences, to grow and develop and to work out its *Karma*.

You may read in any Physiology of the wonders of the human structure : of its two hundred bones, of its marvellous nervous system ; of the seven nerve centres, which are the telegraphic stations along the vertebrate—the thirty-three bones of the spine—connected with the Brain where the Master Operator is enthroned....of the powerful engine, the heart, that pumps its tons of blood throughout the veins ; of the little drainage canals, which if connected would measure forty miles in length ! Their work is to distribute the blood to every part of the bodythey also carry the little electric batteries, each with a negative and positive pole, of which the life-force is compounded.

"Man's body is made up of trillions of miniature solar-systems, each with its whirling planets and a central sun. These tiny systems are the atoms of modern science. The atoms of all elements are made up of protons and electrons, in varying quantities and arranged in various ways."

Atoms are now engaging the intense interest of scientists as never before, and their fearful wonders are not yet fully explored. Protons and electrons are infinitesimal particles of radiant energy of which the human body is builded and supplied with power.

There is nothing about the complex mechanism of the body that science has not discovered : hence the great strides that surgery has made during the past fifty years. It now seems that the human body may be taken apart and put together again, just as a piano-turner may take his instrument apart and reconstruct it ; but among all the ivories and multitudinous strings he cannot find the harmony—it is of the etheric world. Similarly, the surgeon may take apart the human body, but he can never find the Soul, or the Spirit of man—they belong to the Higher Realm.

“ Science may observe with the eyes, ears, nose, tongue, tactile-organs, and especially these days with man-made extensions of eyes, ears, etc., with microscope, telescope, spectroscope, microphone, marvellously delicate balances, and marvellously refined chemical analysis ; yet they will never discover the soul of a man, for soul like spirit is invisible, although its works are manifest. Science has even tried to weigh the soul, and it has been discovered that the weight of a man's body a few moments prior to death, differs from the same body from whence life has fled ; only an ounce or so, but Spirit is etheric and cannot be captured to weigh.” Wise, old Socrates recognised this centuries ago ; when Crito, his favourite pupil, weeping, asked him after he had drunk of the hemlock, where he would like to be buried, he replied, “ *Bury me wherever you like,—if you can catch me !* ” Well he knew that his immortal spirit could not be confined in any tomb, but would mount to the higher empyrean, and to freedom.

A very advanced thinker and writer believes that the race will eventually lose all its red blood, because red blood is representative of the material idea of life. He does not believe that

man was created to be as a carnivorous animal ; that we should be vegetarians and eat of the fruits of the earth ; that we should hold pure thoughts, live clean lives, and that in time men's veins will be filled with electricity. Then indeed, we could generate our own current to rise into the air at will, as it is claimed that the great Thera Mahinda did when he bore to the beautiful island of Ceylon, the Buddhist religion. This writer believes that when Jesus, the Christ, said, "*The last enemy to be destroyed is death,—*" He meant literally just what He said, and that we do not have to wait for some far-off resurrection day for the change, to be clothed upon with spirit and to live eternally.

In "The Wisdom of the Ages," Collier says, "No matter how many years have passed since you were born, you are only eleven months old to-day ! The one thing you can be surest about is *Change*. Every one of the millions of cells of which you are composed are constantly being renewed. Even your bones are daily renewing themselves in this way. These cells are building—building—building ! Every day they tear down old tissue and rebuild it with new. There is not a cell in your body, not a tissue or muscle, not a bone, that is more than eleven months old.' Why then should we ever grow old ? Every particle of our bodies is subject to the sub-conscious mind, and are rebuilt exactly as the mind directs. So, it is up to us to furnish the design ; Thought is Architect of all creation :

"It matters not from whence we sprung, from protoplasm,
or from nought ;

We are creations of a God who gave us life just by a thought."

Alchemists have for many ages sought to discover the elixir of eternal youth... 'Four hundred years ago Ponce de Leon set sail into the mysteries of an unknown world in search of the fountain of youth, when all the time the secret of the fountain was right within himself !' The architect and builder are both

at our command: the only price demanded is in coinage of faith, knowledge, earnestness, and eternal vigilance!

The 'Divine Plato' compares the body to a chariot, the organs are the horses, the mind the reins, the intellect is the driver, and the Soul is the rider in the chariot. Therefore the intellect must control the reins, which we may call the conscious and sub-conscious minds, and they must guide the horses along the highway of life, bearing the master, the Soul, to its ultimate destination. The reins must be held firmly, the horses must be kept in check and guided aright, and the charioteer must be master of all...that is, if we consider the intellect as our Divine Mind, which is the driver and controller of our Being.

In "The story of Philosophy," by Will Durant, we read :

"Desire has its seat in the loins ; it is a bursting reservoir of energy, fundamentally sexual. Emotion has its seat in the heart, in the flow and force of the blood ; it is the organic resonance of experience and desire. Knowledge has its seat in the head ; it is the eye of desire and can become the Pilot of the Soul."

I suppose that the writer here refers to the mysterious pineal gland at the top of the brain which is undoubtedly a vestige of a pineal eye. It is a dark-grey conical structure, situated behind the third ventricle of the brain, and its function is unknown to Science. In the seventeenth century Descartes identified it as the seat of the soul. However, it is more plausible to believe it the All-seeing eye of the Spirit, which can be developed by the methods taught in Râja Yoga, by the great Swami Vivekânanda.

The Christ ever spoke, as all mystic teachers do in veiled language—therefore He continually said, He who has eyes to see, let him see—or he who has ears to hear, let him hear : meaning, let him who has the eye or the ear of the spirit awakened, read into His words and so comprehend them ; for the undeveloped, the outer meaning of the parables was sufficient. He also said, "*The light of the body is the eye : if*

therefore thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light,”—herein is a great mystery.

In Vedanta Philosophy we learn of the limitless power of the Cosmic Mind. It tells of the seven lotuses, or nerve centres, along the spinal column—of *Idâ*, the moon nerve, on the left, and *Piṅgalâ*, the sun nerve on the right of the spinal cord, and of the *Susumnâ*, the hollow canal which runs through the centre of the spine, which is really the conductor of the creative life-force throughout the body, and is connected with the thousand-petaled-lotus of the brain, in which you may find the jewel, or the God consciousness: *the Eye that is Single!* We also learn from Hindoo Philosophy that the sacral-plexus, the triangle at the base of the spine, is the nest of the *Kuṇḍalinî* (the coiled up), or serpent in the spine. God made the serpent the wisest of all His creatures; therefore did Christ admonish His disciples when He sent them out into the world, to be as wise as serpents, and as harmless as doves. However, the serpent was cursed for having tempted Eve to disobey the commands of God, and hence it became a crawler of the dust. The allegory of the Garden of Eden can be explained thus wise: The tree of life was, in reality, the spinal column, and the ribs were the branches thereof...the serpent that twined around the tree was the awakened *Kuṇḍalinî*, the sex force, which is of all things the most abused and misunderstood; yet was made to be the most sacred, when used aright. By it was man tempted, and by its abuse he fell from the likeness of God, and the twain were expelled from Eden.

The awakened *Kuṇḍalinî* rises through the *Susumnâ*, or cavern in the spine, and breaks through the lotuses one after the other, until it reaches the topmost bough of the tree, the brain, or the thousand-petaled lotus. When used intelligently the awakened *Kuṇḍalinî* gives to us imagination, perception, creative-force, and leads direct to the Cosmic Mind. Or if aroused and abused it can tempt man to his fall, and cause him to be cast out of Paradise.

It has been said that Richard Wagner was a mystic ; then perhaps this knowledge caused him to name the temptress of Parsifal, *Kundry*...I wonder ?

The lotus of the solar-plexus is believed by occultists to be the seat of the Soul, as the upper-brain, where all of the finer qualities reside, is the place where the Eye of the Spirit is situated—it is the spot upon which the Yogis concentrate when taking rhythmic breathing to awaken their higher powers.

The Soul needs and must have a physical body in which to have its experiences ; by experience it is moulded and developed, and through many rounds of experiences it gains enlightenment and freedom.

There is a very pretty Hindoo story that illustrates this ; I haven't it to refer to, but this is the gist of it : There was a beautiful tree filled with fruit, and on the tree were two birds—one sat on the topmost bough, serenely preening its feathers, the while viewing the limitless blue of the sky, and basking in the sun-light. The other bird was on the lower branches busily engaged in pecking at the lovely fruit so abundantly spread before it ; happily going from one branch to another, and indiscriminately pecking at the good and bad, the ripe and unripe fruit, going ever higher and higher. It would occasionally pause to glance up at the serene bird on the topmost bough, and to wonder why it too, did not come down to enjoy the fruit ; but not for long would it stop, but went on its rounds of discovering fresher and sweeter fruits. At last it too rose above the fruit-bearing branches and reached the topmost bough : when, lo, it found the bird that so peacefully preened its wings for flight was itself !

So we too must have experiences throughout many lives : by experience we gain knowledge, and by knowledge is attained wisdom, and by wisdom comes freedom.

We must not be in bondage to the Desire-Body ; it shackles us to enjoy the most alluring fruits, while the serene Âtman sits aloft watching and waiting to gain its freedom.

We must not harken to the constant demands of the conscious mind, nor waste our precious hours in listening to the Siren songs of pleasure...we cannot dally along the way to pluck the primroses ; if we do, the Desire-Body will become a tyrant indeed.

Life is too great, too vast, too sublime to be wasted in the monotonous clamourings that wear out the Body, as the constant dropping of water will wear away the hardest rock.

The possibilities of the sub-conscious mind are too limitless to stop to fret over the bad or unripe fruits we may have eaten on our upward progress. We should keep our eyes fixed on the serene Watcher ; and also view the limitless blue of the sky, or study the star-gemmed firmament that points the way to ultimate bliss.

“ This day before dawn I ascended a hill and
looked at the crowded heaven,
And I said to my Spirit, when we become the
enfolders of those orbs, and the pleasures and
knowledge of everything in them, shall we be fill'd
and satisfied then?
And my Spirit said, No, we but level that lift to
pass and continue beyond.”

TERESA STRICKLAND

PURCHASE OF STERLING

The new system of remittance operations perfected by the Government of India during the course of the last half-a-dozen years is not thoroughly understood by the public. It is not only essential that its advantages and disadvantages should be understood but the far-reaching consequences underlying this method must be realised by all students of Indian financial problems.

The object of Remittance.

The Government of India is a subordinate body subject to the sovereignty of the British Parliament. While it realises its revenue in silver in India it has to meet certain obligations to the extent of roughly £35 mil. annually in London. This necessarily forces the Government of India to enter the exchange market for converting its rupee resources into sterling resources at as an advantageous a rate as is possible for it to secure.

Several methods.

Although theoretically speaking this can be done by several methods the most suitable and advantageous ones have to be resorted to in preference to others. Firstly the sale of bills in the London Money Market on the Indian Treasury against the receipt of sterling in London can be done to suit his requirements. This was the old, time-honoured but recently discarded system of the sale of Council Bills in London.¹ Secondly, there

¹ For a history of the Council Bill sales—see Mr. H. Waterfield's Memorandum—Appendix to the Fowler Committee's Report—p 24; also Mr. Newmarch's Memorandum on the same subject, Appendices, Vol. I, No. 8, p. 20. See also Mr. C. S. Kisch's Memorandum on Remittances which consists of the 1915 and 1924 rules with reference to this sale of Council Bills to the Hilton-Young Commission, Vol. III, pp. 485-489.

is the purchase of sterling bills from banks and private financial houses willing to sell their sterling resources in London for rupees offered to them in India. This is the present method which has displaced the above one. Thirdly, there is the buying of gold bullion and exporting it from this country to London. The exporting of silver cannot be resorted to as it would be sending silver from the better market to a less advantageous one. The Government would be the loser by this method. Even in the case of gold shipment the loss of interest, freight and insurance charges would amount to much. Fourthly, the Government can buy sterling bills drawn on London from reliable mercantile houses and send them to the Secretary of State for collecting. This method was actually employed for a while in 1877 but was afterwards given up. Fifthly, advances can be made to merchants in India for purchase of goods consigned to the United Kingdom and repayable in England to the Secretary of State to whom the goods are hypothecated. The bills of lading of cargoes can be taken as security and thus remittance can be effected by this method. But inasmuch as their credit would not be of a high standing this method cannot be safely resorted to. It was actually employed to a limited extent by the East India Company and given up as "introducing a vicious system of credit and interfering with the ordinary course of trade." Lastly, the Secretary of State can purchase the proceeds of loans floated by the quasi-public bodies in London and release its equivalent in rupees in India. This method however is not always available but it is free from all defects.

Of these different methods each with its own limitations method two is the present accepted method of making remittances to London. The Government enter the money market and invite tenders on Wednesday at Bombay, Calcutta, Karachi Madras, and Rangoon. Purchases in the market can be made for purpose of Intermediates on days when tenders are not received.

When was it taken up?

In the year 1923 the sale of Intermediate Councils was given up and sterling was purchased through the Imperial Bank from the Exchange Bankers and other recognised financial firms as a supplementary measure to the weekly sale of Council Drafts. The Imperial Bank was given the minimum buying limit by the Controller of Currency both of rate and of quantity, and it was also altered now and then during the course of the same day. Although large purchases were made under this method the question of inviting tenders to secure the best rates was not taken up at any time. Neither the extent of purchases nor the rate at which the purchases were made were published by the Government of India and these were freely left to the discretion of the Government of India.

The old system of the sale of Council Bills was not given up even in the official year 1924-25. Weekly sale of Council Bill was resumed only when there was a steady demand for rupees. But during the official year 1924-25, the sale of Councils did not amount to much. Even during this period much publicity was not thrown on these operations and it was only at the end of the month that the public could know the amount of purchases made by the Government in the money market. The Bombay Chamber of Commerce protested against this "lack of knowledge regarding purchase of sterling and suggested that the weekly return of purchases should be published."

During the course of the official year 1925-26, no sale of Councils took place and it has been completely superseded by the method of purchase of sterling. The table, at the next page, with reference to remittances, makes this point clear.¹

¹ From April, 1927, the Government of India has been making weekly purchases of its sterling requirements by tender. Provision for Intermediate remittances is also made and the rate fixed by the Controller of Currency, for the Intermediate T. T.'s is known as the "tap rate." If the rate is not liked by the sellers of T. T. the tap rate would be practically inoperative and whether any purchases according to the tap rate can be made, can be foreseen by the number of applications made on tender days. The larger volume on the tender day indicates the possibilities of Intermediate purchases.

Official year.			Sale of Councils in London.	Purchase of Ster- ling in India.	Purchases by the Secretary of State of loan proceeds of public bodies raised in London.
			£	£	£
1922-23	...	...	2,570,026	70,000	2,126,210
1923-24	...	...	8,738,705	13,100,000	1,302,950
1924-25	...	...	7,572,162	33,191,000	70,0000
1925-26 (9 months)	...	...	Nil	37,566,500	Nil

The respective advantages of competitive tender and private purchase of sterling through the Imperial Bank were discussed by the Hilton-Young Commission, but the advantages or disadvantages of this procedure as against the old one of sale of Councils were not paid heed to. The Commission recommended the purchase of sterling by competitive public tender and the publication of weekly return of remittances. This is now followed in actual practice¹ and would doubtless be changed as soon as a Central Bank of issue is created for this country. The remittance business of the Government would be done through the Central Bank in much the same way as it would do the other banking business of the Government.

Reasons for this change.

Though Mr. Charles Nicoll² and the Right Hon. Montagu Norman,³ the Governor of the Bank of England, opine that "a sentimental influence brought about tendering in India instead of London" there were weighty reasons for pursuing this change. It was to take advantage of a "firm or rising exchange" that this new method of sending remittances from this country was devised. It was also meant to check rapid

¹ See C. H. Kisch's Memorandum on Remittances, Vol. III, p. 435, Hilton-Young Commission's Evidence.

² See his oral evidence before the Hilton-Young Commission, Vol. V, p. 201.

³ See his evidence before the Hilton-Young Commission, Vol. V, p. 192.

appreciation of the rupee or "undesirable up-rush of exchange" that sterling exchange was brought on an abundant scale. In October, 1924, it was decided to prevent exchange from rising above 1s. 6d. by the free offering of rupees according to this method. This method was devised by Sir Basil Blackett and the Government of India have adopted it as an advisable one in the interests of India and as an improvement on the existing method of the sale of Council Bills.

The main advantages of the scheme.

In days of fluctuating exchange it enables the Government of India to control the exchange market and with the full benefit of knowledge of local circumstances influencing the course of exchange the Finance Minister can do something to impart tolerable stability to the fluctuating exchange and thus confer a boon on trade and the country.

Exchange can roughly be pegged at the selected rate at which rupees can be released and thus the object of stabilising exchange at a particular rate can be easily obtained by purchasing sterling for unlimited amounts at the upper gold point of the selected rate for the rupee. In the days of firm or rising exchange it can be employed to arrest the further rise altogether. (Just as the unlimited sale of Councils at 1s. 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. prevented the free flow of gold into the country the release of rupees at 1s. 32d lower rate than the upper gold point of the rupee would prevent the free flow of gold into the country.) If the Government are prepared to buy sterling over and above the requirements of the Secretary of State the exchange can be artificially pegged at this upper gold point of the rupee rate. This they can do safely so long as they can increase the British securities in the Paper Currency Reserve and issue P. C. notes against the cover placed in London or they can issue rupees and against "created" securities of the Government of India which cannot exceed 50 crores of rupees. The P. C. Amendment Act (February, 1925) has conferred this privilege and so long as there is this safety-valve

there need be no apprehension that by this new method they would fail to peg exchange at the upper gold point or the rupee rate. The coinage of rupees is still left to the Government and so long as this capacity exists they can purchase sterling with the rupees. *Ad Hoc* securities were recently created by the Government of India and Paper Currency inflated against them so that further rise in exchange even by 1-32d would not be brought about. Leaving aside the undesirability of such expansion by questionable methods this prevents the free flow of gold but the stability of exchange at the desired point which is the sole objective and absolute obligation of the Government would be attained.

In days of weakening exchange this method would not be of any utility and the old policy of selling Reverse Councils at the lower gold point of the rupee has to be resorted to. So long as the Gold Standard Reserve is sufficient and kept in a highly liquid state for this purpose the selected rate can be made operative. Gold or gold exchange can be released without limit at the lower gold point of the rupee.

Under the old method of sale of Council Bills heavy cash balances could be kept by the policy of unlimited sale of Council Drafts over and above the Home Charges. Under this new method remittances can be made by the Government to meet the actual requirements and thus render unnecessary the piling up of huge cash balances. The sterling Treasury Bills can be floated by the Secretary of State in London if this remittance programme fails to provide him with adequate resources. It is no doubt expensive and this penalty should be incurred only as the last-go. There is this total emancipation from the Secretary of State's control in the matter of remittance programme and some degree of monetary independence has been conferred on the Government of India. By unlimited sales of Council Drafts over and above the requirements of the Home Charges on the specious plea of satisfying trade requirements he used to transfer cash balances from this country or a portion of the Paper

Currency Reserve. By a judicious use of the new method this unjust transfer need no longer be tolerated and the interference of the Secretary of State in the matter of remittance is rendered as remote as possible.

Finally this method is considered suitable and simple and the Exchange Banks need not depend on rediscounting their bills in London but promptly sell their sterling bills to the Government of India and thus replenish their rupee resources in this country.

Disadvantages.

This method is not however free from defects altogether. Firstly, the upper gold point may not be reached at all under this method if rupees are released at 1-32d lower rate than the upper gold point of the rupee. This means the free flow of gold can be diverted and impeded thus checking or restricting the automatic action of gold entering the currency system and rupees or notes issued against that stock of gold. The price can be so arranged as to check the flow of gold. It is not here assumed that the gold would enter the Indian Currency media or become a part of the currency of India.

Secondly, it is possible that the Government might not follow the lead of the market but actually set the pace themselves. It is too closely interwoven with the Currency policy and absolutely dependent on the Indian money market.

Thirdly, unless the purchase of sterling is definitely limited to actual or prospective requirements the free flow of gold into the country would be stopped. The magnitude of the purchase can be arranged as to prevent the flow of gold into India. Enormous purchases can be made to cover (1) the amount necessary for the Secretary of State's expenses, (2) the further amounts as can be spared in a prosperous season towards the reduction or avoidance of debt in England, (3) the requirements of trade. But

if large funds are remitted to the Home Treasury it would be locking up Indian funds in London. With the right or improper use of these funds we are not concerned here.

Fourthly, the public tender system at different places means delay involving the collecting of different demands at one centre and though the time element can be overcome during the days of electric telegraph, foreign centres dealing with India would be at a disadvantage under the tender system in India. Large number of American people enter into jute contracts and these people would find it difficult to get along with this tender system. London being the world's financial centre application by foreign countries for Councils could be easily made in London. Under the present system they generally send their requirements at least one day earlier to their agents in India. There is a big rupee market in London. It is being ignored by means of this new method and hence the best price for the rupee may not be obtained if this market in London is ignored.

The financial transactions of the Government are being subjected to controversy and criticism on account of this method of remittance. The purchase of sterling to the extent of $1\frac{1}{2}$ ~~md.~~ ^{mil.} on account of the P. C. Department on 14th January, 1928, has been criticised freely. The non-remittance uses made out of this method are likely to be contested strongly by the Indian public.

Finally, under this system rupees are released in India by the Government immediately before sterling is placed in the hands of the Secretary of State in London. Unless the credit standing of the parties is of a very high order such a thing cannot be done. The keeping of a Government list means drawing an unfair and invidious distinction which would be resented by the people not favoured according to this discrimination. Although in actual practice no loss is sustained by such a procedure yet it is not so safe as the sale of Councils which amounted to the obtaining of sterling in London before the parting of equivalent amount of rupees in India.

Conclusion.

Although on the whole this system has given tolerable satisfaction to trade no time should be lost in starting a Central Bank and handing over this remittance programme to the Central Bank which would pay due heed to the needs of the market while remitting funds to the Secretary of State on behalf of the Government of India. The Central Bank should accept unlimited amount of gold in India at par and issue bank currency at the upper gold point against it and release unlimited quantity of gold at the lower gold point of the internal currency unit offered to it in India. Its acknowledged object should be to check fluctuations in exchange automatically by the free inflow and outflow of gold. Governmental interference in the management of remittance should not be tolerated in any manner. It is bound at certain times to be as iniquitous as interference in the management of currency.

B. RAMCHANDRA RAU

LOVE, LIFE AND JOY

I

The root, ungainly sore of eyes,
The acrid sore of nose,
Is cast away on hill of dews ;
No dream can show its Rose—
In Rose the joys of life abound,
The root is hid in fulsome ground.
Alone, Love, knowest what's hid in heart,
What men reject their home Thou art.
Love kills alike all sin and merit
And death in life is life in spirit.
Love seems to sleep in mud downtrod
And Love is life in grain-womb'd pod,
See, death is Love and life is Love
On earth below and heaven above.
Without self's love can any move?
Now, look within and this truth prove.
If Love were not then none could be—
This truth's true all eternity.
Love's life and joy, beyond compare ;
That Love is joy ye all can swear.
There is no good in death or life
And Love alone is end of strife.
Love is love and life and joy
All but Love must ever cloy.

II

When thy desire o'erleaps the fence
 Betwixt desire and end,
How happy thou, O playful mind,
 Is obstacle thy friend?
When fence is full of thorns and spikes
 And desires eat thy heart,
Thou hatest life, thou hatest all,
 All anguish then thou art.
But, see, when all desires are one
 With love that rules all life ;
O, what against desire can stand
 When Love stills all thy strife?
Then thou art Love and thou art joy
 In end of greed and fear
O, thou art thou all truth, all peace
 Thro' tune and far and near.

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

THE STUDY OF HISTORY AND RESEARCH ¹

The whole academic world is deeply stirred to-day by the new cry which is heard everywhere, *viz.*, the cry for research. It is hoped, and not without reason, that the spirit of research will act like a leaven in the life of a scholar, helping it against stagnation and thereby infusing into it freshness and colour. Everybody appreciates this new movement and is anxious to join hands towards its success.

But however warmly we advocate this growing demand for research we should not altogether forget the dangers to which it opens up unless sufficient caution and moderation be exercised towards regulating its activities. If without making up our mind as to what is meant by research, and how this new temper of research is to be guided, we throw ourselves into the current, research is bound to degenerate into a mad craze for novelty and nothing more. It is not unlikely that ere long it shall invite curses upon itself as a pest of modern intellectual life.

To examine the whole problem of research in all its many-sided activities is not easy. For the present we like to simplify our issue by confining ourselves mainly to one aspect of it *i.e.*, to its bearing upon historical studies. Nor is such a choice altogether arbitrary. The connection of research with History is felt to be an inward one. Whatever else the temper of research might signify, there can be no doubt that in its 'first intension' it stands for these twofold tendencies, *i.e.*, (i) towards creating a sense of dissatisfaction with truths as hitherto known and accepted and (ii) emphasising the urgency of cultivating the historic sense in the new search for truth. In one way real research and true historic sense are inseparably

¹ Read before the 'Varendra Research Society.'

bound up together. In the sequel we shall try to illustrate this point, and it is better that we open our discussion with "the study of History," for history seems to provide ample ground for research as well as for the cultivation of historic sense.

It conduces to clearness of understanding if we seek to bring out the main lines of our investigation. Three different problems seem to engage our attention. We may discuss how (i) History appears simply by itself or (ii) how far it serves as a guide in the pursuit of truth or (iii) in what manner it is affected by the demands of life and personality. These three problems cannot be rigidly held apart. In answering what is History one invariably finds himself discussing the question of method. Again no answer to the problem of method can be suggested till one has found out an answer to the first issue. Nor can we ignore the bearing of the third upon the first and the second. It is always puzzling to the enquirer to settle calmly whether history should be determined in response to the demands of life and personality or whether life and personality should hang upon history in formulating their demands.

To judge history simply by itself may lead us to think of it as a bare record of human events arranged chronologically, while to approach it from the view point of life and personality means to treat it as a delineation of scenes culled from the life movement of an age, suffused with so much emotional colouring as would render the presentation inspiring. The historian from this point of view usurps to a certain extent, the function of the poet and artist. He does not care to dive into an ever-receding, irrevocable past for the sake of the past, but to re-evaluate the past in the light of the present. Instead of appearing in the fashion of a colourless spectator, he obliges us by assuming the rôle of a representative of the people. He endeavours to bring himself round to the point of view of those whose history he is studying. He is to share their thoughts and reciprocate their sentiment. Fully alive to the ideals which inspire a

people to-day he moves backward selecting scenes from the buried lives of the past and presents them in setting so richly decorated with imagery that its appeal lies direct to the heart. To set the past in ever changing colour and to add to it higher and higher value along with the progressive evolution of ideals is the task to which the historian dedicates himself. This is how history appears from the view point of life and personality. The function of the historian becomes more of the nature of *recreating* the movements of a life-process than that of gathering together a set of 'dead' facts or of setting up a Museum to house together a collection of lifeless mummies.

But all this undergoes a complete transformation if we pass over to the stand-point of history as a method. History as a method, has neither to chronicle facts nor to elucidate an ideal, but mainly to assert a claim. The bare chronicler is hardly entitled to the rank of an historian and the mere idealist is a danger to the true historic temper. The best in history, *viz.*, that which makes history worthy of her name and secures for her a position of pre-eminence among the different studies lies in her being regarded as a method. What we mean by this is that the true historian is so-called because of his readiness to pursue truth in the true historic temper, refusing alike to indulge in the dreams of the idealist or to surrender to the passionless rôle of a recorder. It implies that he engages in collating facts in the light of their genesis and development. Any investigation begun in the spirit of looking for the origin of things and the various stages of their development marks the historical method and the study to that extent constitutes history. There may be a history of poetry, just as much as there may be a history of a nation. History is not a study having a well defined subject matter of its own, but anything whatsoever may be a fit theme either for poetry, philosophy, science or history. But of these different forms of studies history alone possesses, by virtue of the superiority of her method, the best claim to lead us to the heart of truth. How

effectively fruitful has been the study of history, viewed in this light, is indicated by the results she has yielded. The concept of evolution, one of the most noteworthy contributions of history is being recognised as the one master key to the solution of problems that were so long considered intractable. This is why many are disposed to hold that history should be viewed mainly as a method; for herein lie the real pride and supreme value of History,

The orthodox historian however begins to fume and fulminate upon the unprofessional amateurs for their over zealous interference with history. To characterise history as a method or an expression of personality constitutes an offence against the true dignity of history. History stands by herself. She need not justify her title by doing service to the demands of personality or to the theory of knowledge. On the contrary, Logic and personality both shall have to offer an unconditional surrender at the altar of history. From out of the stately structure erected by the historian, the grandeur of which lies in the hard discipline of its unornate simplicity, the artist may cut out a section and decorate it with design pleasing to the sense and enlivening to the spirit or the logician may formulate a code with which to encompass it. But these are minor affairs. Neither the logician nor the artist can enter into the spirit of history. To realise how stupendously vast history is, it is well to remember that she owes no duty, recognises no ideal and obeys no method. History is conterminous with reality in so far as that reality has acted itself out.

It is this brute primitive reality, bereft of purpose, growth, or development lying eternal as time itself, that constitutes history. The best historian is one who in naked selflessness lets the whole succession of events unroll themselves before his gaze.

This is no doubt highly exacting and few historians have succeeded in fulfilling this requirement. To contemplate events in a linear series without pause or rhythm makes us dizzy. This is why in every clime history allowed the practice of group

formations—each group having been formed with a person at its centre. Personality cannot be explained away, we think, by reference to historical and geographical factors, but above them all he stands as a free, creative agent. Him we love, and to him we are impelled by the promptings of our heart to pay our homage. We cherish the memory of those deeds which glorify him and mercifully forgetting his weaknesses—if he had any—go on making a hero of him.

Hero worship is a form of idolatry that is engrained in human blood. So people everywhere began setting up their own idols. “Our Napoleon is incomparably great” said the one. On the other shore we heard the cry “our Duke is simply sublime.” This is how history made his appearance. And this was the beginning of that *hiatus* that helped to divide man from man. History really sprang forth out of the impulse of self-glorification, and it was just in so far as history served to satisfy this native craving for self-preservation and self-expansion that she was taken care of. This is true as much of the individual as of the race. In the case of the individual, we find that the main factor that helps towards the formation of a system of memories is the feeling of love with which he views his own existence. His existence is to him a thing of absolute worth, so that whatever tends to heighten the feeling of self existence thereby becomes an integral part of his being. He keeps it by himself, hugs it, and piling up on this corner stone, a whole host of similar experiences rests the structure of his self. His self is to him such a structure of memories which he has reared up. This makes for his identity and distinctness and prevents the merging of his self within some other self.

The history of the race illustrates the natural outcome of a similar process at work. In one case we deal with individual self while in the other we hold up before our eyes the image of a racial self. We idolise heroes who in our opinion, gather up experiences connected with the existence of the race as a distinct, identical unit. It is interesting to note how this sentiment

or self-glorification rears up heroes of varying grades of excellence. In some cases the heroes rose no higher than ordinary secular beings. But there were people beyond this level whose sentiment of veneration ran so high that they could never remain satisfied till their heroes assumed a character of divinity before their eyes. History, even against herself, began idealising their heroes to such an extent as rendered them half mythical and half historical. It is this curious mixture of fact and fiction, myth and truth that has given the rudest shock to the modern historian.

With the temper of puritanism, characteristic of him, the modern historian is anxious to root out this idol-making propensity of the people. The study of history conducted in right lines is the only remedy against this vain effusion of self-glorification. As modern physics is tending towards the disintegration of matter into a momentary equilibrium of moving forces, so modern history, in alliance with modern Psychology, aims at decomposing personality into an assemblage of circumstances. A Napoleon is only an assemblage of events, just as the year '1453' is made up of a series of occurrences. To understand Napoleon historically means to take into account a number of factors—ethnic, climatic, psychic, etc.—factors that in their time-correlation conspire to go by the name of Napoleon. It is hoped that a new era of peace and happiness will dawn upon earth when man is made to face facts in their innocence and purity, when he realises that even the greatest among men has no innate greatness in him, but is a mere pretender whose genesis can be traced to the lowest mob of ordinary circumstances and that therefore all the enthusiasm of his love and veneration at the thought of such heroic figures is misplaced. Relieved of this incubus of love and adoration, man shall feel a sense of equality not only in the eye of God; but in his own eye as well. The future of the world lies in the new democracy towards which modern history, in alliance with modern Psychology, is leading us. To sum up: The spirit of modern

history seems to be democratic, puritanic and iconoclastic. This accords with the fact that people, born in democratic and iconoclastic traditions have shown greater aptitude as chroniclers of events and stood nearer to the modern historian than anybody else. As against this there was the race of aristocrats who, impregnated with the ideals of class superiority, vigour and beauty—ideals which can never be universalised, could seldom break away from their instinctive regard for personality. Events are to them mere ephemeral shows. It matters little whether one remembers or forgets them. But far above them there remains the forceful figure of personality. To study him, to appreciate his life-work is their great objective. This cannot be done by a mere soldering of outward events, but requires a touch of inner sympathy and insight which can be shared only by a select few. This is the reason why among people who by their culture and tradition were taught to believe in the intrinsic sanctity of man and his exclusive greatness, history as a pure record of events has not prospered well.

How these two temperaments, the democratic and the aristocratic, stand in their attitude to history is best shown in the emphasis which each of them lays upon research. As the true democrat has no faith in genius and is clamouring for equalising of all,—high and low—research means to him the mere unearthing of details and arranging them in full compact series with reference to time, so that this may materially help a man to expose the myth of hero worship and stultify the romance of history. People marvel at the greatness of Socrates when they are told that he readily gave up his life at the call of duty. They extol the genius of Beethoven and are stunned with reverential awe when they hear of a Prince, so deeply touched by world's sorrows and sufferings, that he could never return to the ease and comfort of a Prince's life, but flung himself down to the solution of world's miseries—a solution destined to open the way of deliverance to the millions of humanity.

But why should people marvel so much?—asks the Democrat. Have we got, within our knowledge, all the fulness of facts, the intricacies of forces that culminated necessarily in these so-called epoch-making movement? Obviously not. Let us therefore push on the enquiry. What about Socrates? When was he born? How many friends had he? What food did he take? Were his muscles rendered stiff through inaction? These and similar other facts we must bring to light through researches so that we may realise that Socrates' refusal to escape from the prison-house was the inevitable out-come of these factors. The same line of enquiry should be undertaken with regard to Beethoven and Buddha. Let us ask if Beethoven was deaf, if he shaved himself clumsily. Was Buddha himself ever rebuked at school or coldly treated by the courtiers of his father? Our knowledge about these historic details is utterly inadequate and defective. In this twilight region of ignorance and knowledge the myth making propensity of the people sprang forth in wild exuberance. The cause of history was sacrificed and the emotional susceptibilities with which man ensnared himself, always made for his degeneration and enfeeblement. The spirit of research is not yet born with us. If luckily it should ever come we shall see that it is an interminable pursuit. Exploration, excavation, ransacking of manuscripts and deciphering of plates, in fact, whatever lends aid to peer through the misty labyrinth of time shall have to be seized upon.

The temper of the Aristocrat though laughing outwardly at the ferment caused by the new cry for research has had nevertheless some misgivings as to what is coming out of this research. What does it avail to the devotee to be told that the Hall at Caperneum within which Christ delivered his teachings was not paved with stones? If, for the sake of realistic effect, we are to advocate such discoveries it is well to remember that their sole value lies in reinstating the glory for which humanity stands and not in hackling it to pieces. Unless the research

worker were in a position to know what to look for, very often he would look for things at the wrong end; wherefore it is of supreme importance that the research agents be trained first to reciprocate the sentiments and ideals which inspire a people. To go about looking for facts that best harmonise with the cherished ideals of a people is the basic principle of research. Of course the ideals of a people do not remain stationary, and one of the conditions of change is the ever growing volume of facts unearthed by research. Still research at its start should be responsive to the demands of the people. Goethe expressed himself in a similar strain when he declared: 'History must from time to time be rewritten, not because many new facts have been discovered but because new aspects come into view, because the participant in the progress of an age is led to standpoints from which the past can be regarded and judged in a novel manner.' If we are to hold to this view of research it obliges us first to enter into the spirit of the age in which we are living and then draw out a system of facts in consonance with the demand of the time. Let the Westerner get into the spirit of the east if he is anxious to know the history of the east. In the same way it may be urged that a follower of Islam has no chance of understanding the great movements of the Hindus so long as he is not imbued with the ideal of the Hindu life, nor can a Hindu have any prospect of appreciating the truth of Islam if he is not at heart sympathetic towards Islamic aspirations. This is what the high class aristocratic temper means by research and study of history. It is not by sacrifice of one's ideal but by always adhering to them, and yet making the way plain for mutual sympathy and appreciation that a basis may be found for real understanding that shall alone succeed in ridding the world of her present day strifes and feuds.

This is how the two parties, the democrats and the aristocrats, stand in the game of research. Each of them has his own programme and way of evaluating research. To the democrat, man is nothing but a bundle of events in time—a complex

unit resolvable into a series of occurrences held together by the operation of time. To honour the dead means therefore to dig out of the grave all the fulness of facts which covered his life whilst he was alive. It is interesting to note how this attitude has reacted upon the conception of the future life of man. The life beyond the grave is nothing but a mere prolongation in time of almost the same set of occurrences which filled it up when it was on this side of the grave. Life is one interminable process—a never ending chain of events. Historical societies confirm this by their researches with regard to lives spent on earth. Psychical societies seek to justify this by carrying on researches with regard to lives on the other side of the grave.

This appears perplexing to the aristocrat. To live means to him, to strive after an ideal—an ideal which is not chained down in the stream of succeeding events. The strength of the ideal, *viz.*, that which makes it an everlasting factor lies not in its being scattered through the musty volume of events but in its living beyond the whole world of events. Every nation has its own ideal just as much as every individual has his. This idea expresses the life of the nation as much as of the individual so that we may say that their life is not a mere summation of events foreign to one another but one indivisible unit falling beyond the roll of time. To survey and appreciate life, in this wise, of the nation as of the individual, is not to string together a collection of events but to go beyond them. "When we have loved our heroes into immortality these footnotes of time become irrelevant."

In a sense, the democrat represents the de-nationalistic and de-humanistic temper while the aristocrat stands for nationalism and humanism. So the problem becomes hotter and hotter as to which way we should decide. The democratic impulse is apt to degenerate into irreverence while the aristocratic mould stagnates into false vanity and morbid sentimentalism.

It seems neither party has grasped the inner meaning of historical studies. The true historic sense forbids the attempt

to reduce everything to a purely unmeaning succession of events just as much as it stands opposed to the absolute validity of the nationalistic or class ideals. To say that the ideals are illusory the concept of personality is a myth goes against the verdict of historic sense, while to treat the ideal as a sort of eternal verity with which all historical movements must necessarily square falsifies the reading of history. It is too readily assumed by those brought up in an aristocratic mould as if these ideals antedate history and so have a suprahistoric validity. It is this that vitiates their study of history. Equally defective is the democratic way of reading history, for the democrat means by history the bare presentation of facts in a dull, drab, discoloured way without any purpose, end or ideal. The truth is, history has neither followed steadfast the lines of nationality nor has she proved utterly irresponsible to the aspirations of the people. To realise how far history has satisfied these demands of personalities and how far she has neglected them the true historian must equip himself with the historic sense. Nobody who is not gifted with this historic sense should be called upon to undertake research.

Historic sense is both a product as well as a presupposition of the study of history. What we mean by this is that the study of history should be undertaken mainly with the idea that it stands for a method and not for any definite subject matter. Those who approach the study with the belief that it has a definite subject matter, *e.g.*, registering facts of a certain order, either with, or without purpose, must fall within the grip of the aristocrats or the democrats.

History as a method implies a line of investigation which starts with the reality of the present day situation. Whatever contributes to the making of this situation must be considered valid and so worthy of our attention. If we are swayed by love or sentiment of veneration it is our duty to treat them as real and recognise their value; if we are forced by the purely physical conditions let us humbly confess that. There are occasions

when nationality through personality becomes a great factor in shaping the course of events, again there may be occasions when they lie dormant and great changes came upon nations and men, inspite of themselves. Historic sense demands that in judging of any situation we take it in its concrete setting and are not carried away by any arbitrary preconceived notion. When personality is the great outstanding factor we take this into account and when it is pushed in the back ground we better not talk of it at all. If we carry this temper in our researches we may discover that there were occasions when nothing like nationality was in existence. On some occasions man asserted himself more as an individual and that even very dimly. Gradually however there appeared the stages of personal and national consciousness, but once they appeared on the scene history became subservient to their call. But it is preposterous to assume that history keeps on obeying their demands for ever. Neither personality, nor nationality, nor even spirituality itself has any right to eternal existence. The same historical movements that led to the creation of these agencies may be working towards the evolution of even more dignified forms. Personality once it is born, aspires to arrest the ever revolving wheel of time, but it forgets that the time forces to which, in a sense, it owes its being are striving after a still higher type of being, of which at present, it can form no conception.

The true historic sense reveals to us at once the reality of the ideal of nationality and the absurdity of clinging to this ideal as an absolutely valid factor in the life of a people. In our struggle for the national ideal or the ideal of our community let us work for its realisation and let us build a history to stimulate us in our endeavour. That is a noble work ; but let us not forget that the time forces within which we are moving, are sweeping us past, inspite of ourselves, to a more glorious ideal, richer than nationality or communality, and that when it comes it shall stultify all the ideals which we hold so near and dear to us to-day.

When we shall learn to value the study of history as a method and undertake researches in this genuine temper of historicity, her lessons will bear lasting results. The more we study her in this light the more she will justify the faith with which we began her study.

JITENDRAKUMAR CHAKRAVARTY

THE CASTERBRIDGE OF THOMAS HARDY¹

Lovers of the Wessex Novels will find in Dorchester features with which they are already familiar though they may never have visited it before, just as the ardent reader of Kipling recognizes places and objects when visiting Lahore² or Simla for the first time. Many of the scenes described in "The Mayor of Casterbridge"³ remain as they were when it was written.

At first sight Dorchester strikes one as a great agricultural centre, with its two cattle markets, food markets and Corn Exchange. The shops too cry aloud of the Land, with their large array of farm and garden implements and food and medicines for animals and poultry.

The town wears an air of prosperity. Many banks speak of the business transacted here. Solid old established firms provide everything needful in food, furniture, or apparel for mansion or cottage. And while the town-dweller is amazed at the large display of oil lamps and stoves that cater for homes where gas or electricity is unknown, the next moment he may come upon an "arty" shop painted in bright colour and bearing a French name that looks as if it might have strayed down from Chelsea.

Dorchester is progressive mentally as well as materially. Besides the Grammar School founded by an ancestor of Thomas Hardy, which the novelist attended in his youth, there are educational establishments for boys and girls. A fine Art

¹ The Mayor of Casterbridge (1886) forms Vol. III of Wessex Novels, originally printed in The Graphic, and is considered, as one of Hardy's six great tragic novels and a landmark of the South Wessex Country.

² *Eg.* : Life's Handicap and Plain Tales from the Hills.

³ *Cf.* A Group of Noble Dames (1891) re-issued in 1896 and forming part of the 1928 edition of The Short Stories (Published by Messrs. Macmillan and Co.) and the poems edited "At Casterbridge Fair" particularly No. III.

School adjoins the County Museum. Here also the Field Club is located. It conducts excursions to the many historic spots in which the county is so rich. There is also a Debating Society with a membership of over 200 and the Women's Institute is building large quarters at Top O' Town.

The number of book shops proves that the Casterbridge folk are great readers. In their windows are the latest publications as well as standard works. Pride of place is given to the writings of Thomas Hardy, and portraits of the illustrious writer in all stages of his career are seen on every side.

The poems of William Barnes are also well to the fore, and a statue of Barnes stands before St. Peter's Church. He made, as we all know, a deep study of the Dorset dialect, and his poems have found favour with connoisseurs of literature all over the world.

The fire of 1613 destroyed most of the historic buildings, but, luckily, St. Peter's Church and the buildings adjoining were spared as well as the house where Judge Jeffries lodged, the Alms House and some of the old inns.¹

The general impression of Dorchester is of a clean dignified town with houses of mellowed red brick and tiled, lichened roofs. On the out-skirts are picturesque cottages thatched with the Dorset craftsman's well-known skill.

A picturesque feature is the tree-shaded, raised boulevard around the town. Another delight is the way in which town and country mingle. From the centre one looks down on lush, tree-shaded meadows with sleek cattle grazing beside slow streams. At the back rise the downs dotted with sheep.

In Casterbridge there is always a sense of bustle and stir. Gentle-folk from the big houses, parsons, farmers, villagers constantly come and go, some for the markets twice a week, others for the Assizes, Meetings, Cricket Week, or, may be, a Ball or Concert at the Corn Exchange.

¹ *Vide Hermann Lea's "Thomas Hardy's Wessex" (1913).*

Groups stand at the street corners exchanging the news just as they did when Hardy was a boy. But, while once they "put up" their horses at the Antelope or King's Arms, now they mostly "park their cars."

And, no matter whether you visit Casterbridge for its literary associations or for business or pleasure, the old place will weave a spell and its bells and bugles will call you back to "Dorset Dear."

L. F. STOCKWELL

NEHRU COMMITTEE'S REPORT—A CRITICAL STUDY

The publication of Nehru Committee's Report embodying a scheme of Indian constitutional Reform has come both as a "pleasant surprise" as well as a "pleasant disappointment." To friends of Indian political aspirations of whatever shade of opinion it is a piece of welcome news inasmuch as it has provided a common platform for the meeting of all political parties in the country to compose their mutual differences, to work out the details of a scheme of self-government and present a united demand to the British Parliament; to the enemies of India's political freedom it is as much of a disappointment in that it has taken the sting out of their contention that the "Babel of classes and communities which constitutes India cannot produce any agreed instrument for self-rule."

It is perhaps not possible to arrive at a correct estimate of the Report without taking into consideration the circumstances that led to the appointment of the Committee and its terms of reference. Before actually entering into a discussion of the merits of the Report itself we propose to give a very brief account of those circumstances.

As the date of the appointment of the Royal Commission provided for in section 84 (A) of the G. I. Act of 1919 was drawing nearer and rumours were in the air as to the possibility of an earlier appointment of the Commission, the question of constitution-making engaged the attention of certain sections of Indian politicians. Just at this time came the famous statement of Lord Birkenhead made before the House of Lords on July 7, 1925, on the British policy in India in course of which he observed:—

"It has been the habit of spokesmen of Swarajist thought to declare in anticipation, that no Constitution framed in the

West can either be suitable or acceptable to the peoples of India. It has always seemed to me that a very simple answer may be made to such a contention.

(“ We do not claim in Great Britain that we alone in the world are able to frame constitutions, though we are not discontented with the humble constructive efforts which we have made in this field of human ingenuity, but *if our critics in India are of the opinion that their greater knowledge of Indian conditions, qualifies them to succeed, where they tell us that we have failed, let them produce a Constitution which carries behind it a fair measure of general agreement, among the great people of India.*”)

“ Such a contribution to our problems would nowhere be resented. It would, on the contrary, be most carefully examined by the Government of India, by myself, and I am sure, by the Commission, whenever that body may be assembled.”

This was considered in political circles as a “ challenge ” to the Indians’ capacity to produce a constitution carrying behind it “ a fair measure of general agreement.” But they did not seriously take up the challenge partly because of the attitude of distrust and indifference to professions of British statesmen—which has for some time past become rightly or wrongly patent in Congress politics—and partly because they were much too preoccupied with the more pressing problem of Hindu-Muslim unity. When some measure of success was attained in this sphere as a result of negotiations and conferences, the A.I.C.C. which met in Bombay in the month of May, 1927, passed a resolution calling upon “ the Working Committee to frame a constitution based on a declaration of rights for India in consultation with the elected members of the Central and Provincial Legislatures and other leaders of political parties. This was a move for the formulation of a draft constitution on the part of the Congress politicians only, although in collaboration with others. But the Madras Congress went a step further and along with the passing of the

"Independence" resolution it also passed another resolution authorising the Working Committee "to confer with similar Committees to be appointed by other organisations—political, labour, commercial and communal—in the country and to draft a constitution for India" and to place it for consideration before a Special Convention to be held in Delhi not later than March, 1928. This at once opened the door for a free conference of all sections of political thought. At the first meeting of the Conference it was found that there was a fundamental difference between the Congress party and other parties as regards the objective to be aimed at in the constitution—complete independence *vs.* Dominion Status.

When the Conference met again in Bombay on the 19th May, 1928, the situation was not at all a promising one. Prospects of arriving at a settlement of the communal issues as between the various communal organisations were as remote as ever. There being little chance of agreement in the open conference the present Committee was appointed with Pandit Matilal as Chairman and nine other members representing different sections of political thought as well as different interests and communities "to consider and determine the principles of the constitution of India, to circulate the draft among various organisations in the country and to give the fullest consideration to the resolution of the Madras Congress on communal unity in conjunction with those passed by the Hindu Mahasabha, the Muslim League, the Sikh League and the other political organisations represented at the All-Parties Conference at Delhi and the suggestions that may be received by it."

If we carefully study the political situation as given above and in the light of it examine the terms of reference we find the Committee have had to work under severe limitations. Unlike the constitutional conventions which have drafted the constitutions in the other self-governing dominions, the problem before the Nehru Committee was not simply to frame a constitutional scheme defining the status of the dominion as a

nation and its relation to what was so long the 'mother country ;' it was handicapped by two issues :

(1) the problem of future constitutional status of India—the controversy between Dominion Status and complete independence, and

(2) the very complicated social problem, one aspect of which is revealed in the Hindu-Muslim strife.

The Committee have however faced these difficulties squarely and boldly, and started in their work with a clear grasp of the problem before them which they have stated in the following words :—

“ As we visualise the problem, it is not to our mind, so much a question of the colour of the administrative and governmental machinery, as of the basic principle on which the future government shall be based. If all the members of the Governor General's Executive Council were Indians and if all the members of the bureaucracy in the provinces were Indians, it would only mean the substitution of a brown for a white bureaucracy. The *real problem* to our mind, *consists in the transference of political power and responsibility from the people of England to the people of India.*”*

Different schools of political thought, however much they may differ, as to the solution of the problem, as to the *modus operandi* to be followed, will certainly agree with the Committee as to the nature of the root problem in Indian politics to-day. Amidst the medley of opinions and conflicting interests the Committee have had to proceed very cautiously and haltingly in order to make its recommendations acceptable to all sections of the people. We find that the whole Report is pervaded by a spirit of compromise and sweet reasonableness. They have sought to find out the “greatest common factor” among the contending factions. Thus they have recommended

* Page 8 of the Report.

'dominion status' as the immediate objective, not because complete independence is unthinkable—and as a matter of fact they have left full liberty to those who would prefer independence as the immediate concern of India to work for it by means of propaganda in the country—but because they cannot get a large section of people to subscribe to it and so cannot put it forward as the united demand of India. In this way with regard to every question—the question of minority communities, redistribution of provinces and creation of new ones, the Native States, control of army, etc., they have made their recommendations on the basis of "maximum agreement" between conflicting interests and contending factions. They have laid the basis of a common understanding if only the parties concerned are inspired by a spirit of give and take and sweet reasonableness.

We can think of no other way of a practical solution of the complex problems of India. We have been constrained to make the introduction rather a little too long because adequate justice cannot be made to their findings and recommendations unless we look at them in their proper perspective, in the light of the difficulties that beset their path and the attitude they have been forced to take. Divorced from these considerations many of their recommendations may strike us, on the face of it, as against all logic, expediency or justice, but in order to appraise them at their true value we must make allowance for all these.

Let us now proceed to a study of their recommendations.

They have devoted a considerable portion of the Report—full two chapters extending over some 34 pages and we think quite rightly—to the communal question. We fully agree with them in the analysis of the problem, and its solution in the fostering of a spirit of 'live and let 'live,' 'the removal from' the minds of each of a baseless fear of the other and of giving a feeling of security to all communities.' We are also at one with them when they say, the only methods of giving

a feeling of security are safeguards and guarantees and the grant, as far as possible, of cultural autonomy. The clumsy and objectionable methods of separate electorates and reservation of seats do not give this security. *They only keep up an armed truce.* Separate electorates, they say, are not only bad for the growth of a national spirit but they are worse for the minority community itself, inasmuch as it has always to face a hostile majority. But we fail to reconcile this attitude of theirs to the communal problem with the *subsequent* recommendations they have made in some concrete questions ancillary to it, even allowing for the spirit of compromise, the desire to reach a "maximum of agreement," by which they have been actuated all through their work.

First of all to take the question of separation of Sind. We can understand its separation on administrative grounds, on economic grounds or on strategic grounds, but to separate it from a province of which it has formed a part so long without any inconvenience simply to satisfy the demand of a particular community which happens to be in a majority in this area would, to my mind, introduce new complications as well as defeat the very purpose which it is contemplated to serve.

Immediately this is done other communities who happen to be in a majority in particular areas will take the cue and demand the status of a province irrespective of all other considerations—a claim which it will be rather awkward to ignore without courting the charge of differential treatment and accentuating communalism. Since going to the press we find in the papers a similar demand put forward by the provincials of Orissa.

Moreover, we do not see any point in their argument that it is justified in the interests of cultural autonomy. If cultural autonomy can be secured by creating 'communal provinces' the boundaries of all provinces should be redrawn on communal lines which, they would agree, would have the same pernicious effects as communal electorates, if not worse. The best security for cultural autonomy is the spirit of 'live and let live,' a

mutual respect for the culture and tradition of each community and not artificial guarantees that may be created. Special facilities may be given to the different communities for the promotion of their distinctive culture but there should not be any sort of discrimination in this respect as between the different communities. Our firm conviction is that the creation of 'communal provinces' will not only have reaction on other communities but it will tend to foster the narrow aspect of communalism rather than promoting the cause of cultural autonomy. We are at a loss to make out how they brushed aside the proposal to create communal councils to protect the cultural interests of each community on the ground that they may keep communalism alive which, in our opinion, is far less harmless than the one to create a communal province. But while objecting to this proposal we must not be understood to have been influenced by considerations of gain or loss to the Hindu or any other minority whose economic interests might be adversely affected thereby; we do not believe that the interests of trade or commerce will suffer in the hands of the administrators to whatever community they may belong. In that case India will not be a safe place for investment for anybody and it will have a serious effect on public finance and consequently on sound administration. The objection is based on broad national grounds; there can be no objection whatever if it can be justified on administrative grounds or any grounds other than communal.

The next question that has engaged their attention is the reservation of seats. They have examined a number of propositions in this connection, *viz.*, (a) part reservation for majorities with freedom to contest other seats, (b) proportional representation, (c) amalgamation of the Punjab and N.W.F. province, with no reservation of seats, (d) no reservation, but special safeguards in the constitution for educational and economic advance of backward communities. Theoretically they have no objection to any of these proposals but they have not discussed them at length because from the

practical standpoint they would not go a great way towards the solution of the problem. So they have rightly concentrated their attention upon the main question, *viz.*, reservation of seats on the basis of population both for majorities and minorities.

They have shown by plausible arguments that this proposal for reservation of seats on population basis for majorities as well as minorities in different territorial units is unjustifiable in theory and unwarranted by facts and figures. But it is really difficult to follow the line of arguments by which they have supported their recommendation for "the reservation of seats, when demanded for Muslim minorities both in the central and provincial legislatures in strict proportion to their population with the right to contest additional seats *for a fixed period of ten years.*"*

It is a patent fact that reservation of seats on communal grounds is incompatible with representative and responsible government. It will bolster up undeserving candidates not enjoying the confidence of the electorate at the cost of the real nominees of the people and the executive depending upon the votes of so-called "representatives" cannot be strictly speaking responsible to the people. It will detract from the value of the vote as an instrument for the political education of the masses. It has been shown by an analysis of the figures of population in Bengal and the Punjab as well as by a reference to the actual results of the District Board elections in Bengal that the fear of the Muslim majorities in these two provinces that they would be swamped have no foundation in fact, "that there are natural areas of reservation for the different communities which ensure the representation of each community far more effectively than any artificial reservation can do." Then again even with reservation of seats the Muslims will remain a minority in the central legislature as well as in the legislatures of the provinces where they are a minority

* Page 55 of the Report.

in population. In any case they would have to depend on the good sense of the majority for promoting the interests of their community with this difference that special reservation of seats may go to alienate the sympathies of others. Thus, this demand for reservation of seats is absolutely without logic or practical wisdom. Thus, the burden of evidence points to the only conclusion that the demand for reservation of seats cannot be entertained on rational grounds but is based only on sentimental grounds; and we are really at a loss how to reconcile this position with their final recommendations on the question. To our mind, in a politically free India there should be no place for communal issues so far as public life is concerned, and once we recognise communal claims in the sphere of politics the evil will tend to perpetuate itself. "We should take a lesson from the experience of the working of the Montford scheme." The authors of the "Montford" Report were dead against the creation of communal electorates very much on the same grounds as given above, yet they felt themselves constrained by force of circumstances to recommend its continuance for a time till a better atmosphere prevailed. But may we ask has a better atmosphere prevailed since then? Has not communal representation tended to import communal considerations into issues which are purely political in character? Has not politics degenerated into a veritable scramble among the different communities for the loaves and fishes? Has it satisfied the demands of the minority communities or has it not rather tended to pitch them still higher? Has it succeeded in bridging over the gulf between them by mutual trust and good will or has it made it wider? As between communal electorates and reservation of seats we see no fundamental difference, and if there is any, it is only one of degree and not of kind.

Perhaps they will reply that they have recommended it as a measure of last resort, if an agreement is impossible on any other basis and even then only for a period of ten years. As they have themselves observed, "We cannot be taken to have

recommended what we have expressly opposed. But we recognise the value of a *compromise between parties and communities however wrong it may be in principle*, and if such a compromise is arrived at in spite of ourselves, we can do no more than try to limit its operation."

But we see no point in effecting a compromise at any cost even when it is calculated to defeat its own purpose. If communalism is rife no such concessions will be able to pacify it ; on the contrary it will fan the flames of communal jealousy and distrust. It is like the head of the Hydra ; if you meet the demands put forward to-day, new ones will spring up to-morrow.

We very much doubt that at the end of ten years the Muslims will voluntarily forego the claim for special reservation, for it is against human nature.

They have perhaps indulged in a bit of robust optimism when they observe : " we are certain that as soon as India is free and can face her problems unhampered by alien authority and intervention, the minds of her people will turn to the vital problems of the day. How many questions that are likely to be considered by our future legislatures can be of a communal nature?... Parties will be formed in the country and in the legislature on entirely other grounds, chiefly economic, we presume. We shall then find Hindus and Muslims and Sikhs in one party acting together and opposing another party which also consists of Hindus and Muslims and Sikhs. This is bound to happen if we once get going." How we would that it were so and perhaps in this case wish has been the father to the thought. But however desirable this situation may be, we cannot hope for it, if we get going with statutory communal majorities or minorities. Party alignments are bound to be drawn on communal lines with considerable danger to the stability of the state.

Then again, there is another danger lurking in the above proposal. It will give a handle to the communal consciousness of the many small minority communities such as Indian

Christians, Jains, Arya Samajists, etc., who have not as yet been communal. For, if we make concessions to one minority we cannot legitimately withhold it from others when they demand them. In that case consciousness of political unity which is the *sine qua non* of orderly state life would be killed by the disruptive forces thus brought into play.

We are quite at one on this point with Sardar Mangal Singh who in his dissentient note to the resolution recommending temporary reservation of seats says: "I am very strongly opposed to the creation of statutory communal majorities on population basis *under all circumstances and for any time howsoever short it may be*. If agreement can only be reached by reservation of seats I will recommend that the case of the Sikhs be considered as that of an important minority and adequate and effective representation, far in excess of their numerical strength, be given to them in the Punjab on the basis adopted for Muslim minorities under the Lucknow pact in Bihar and other provinces." From the broad national point of view the only reasonable solution of the communal question in India is to dispense with the idea of special political rights and privileges for any community. There should be perfect political equality as between one citizen and another. In the political sphere we should refuse to recognise communities as definite units within the state; the individual citizen is the unit of the state everywhere and there is no earthly reason why it should be otherwise in India. We are ready to provide for the promotion of cultural or economic interests of the weak or intellectually backward communities. There is no objection in principle even to the proposal for creating communal councils for promoting the cultural autonomy of each community; for every community has a right to develop on its own lines within the state and communalism in its better aspect, that is, in the sense of cultural autonomy, is in no way inconsistent with nationalism. But we cannot by any means support special political rights for any one community, not because it may mean some loss to other communities but

because it retards the growth of a broad national outlook in the people, rivets their attention on the communal aspects of every question and demoralises political life in the country. If we cannot agree on this basis let us frankly admit defeat ; there is no use hoodwinking the outside world and practising self-deception, by making a show of unity whereas it is only a patched-up compromise which is bound to break in no time to our utter disgust and disappointment and the ridicule and contempt of our enemies. It is simply a piece of self-deception to gloss over the exterior while the inside is all rot. We have no right to claim Swaraj or national self-government if we cannot place the interests of the nation higher than the interests of the community. National freedom cannot be bought cheaply. Sacrifice of this narrow communal consciousness is not a very high price for Swaraj.

I am not disposed to be so pessimistic as to believe that good sense will not prevail among the different communities. What is wanted is a systematic propaganda among the people by a disinterested band of workers, imbued with a true nationalist feeling, who will clearly explain the implications of communalism to them in all their bearings. My firm conviction is that the present tension does not truly reflect the relation between the two communities among the masses in the country; it is an abnormal phase brought about by an insidious propaganda systematically carried on by a particular section of both communities who want to exploit this situation to further their own interests. If the actualities of the situation be brought home to the people by means of a counter propaganda that their real and permanent interests lie not in running at each other's throat but rather in joining hands like brothers in the cause of the motherland, in thinking of the nation first and community next,—I have enough faith in the intelligence and good sense of the common people in India to think that they will give up the extravagant special claims of their respective communities for the sake of the more permanent interests of the

nation. It is only then that we can have a national legislature in the true sense of the term and not a congress of delegates of different sectional and communal interests and it is only then that the dream of Swaraj will be realised. A patched-up compromise may work for some time but it cannot endure long. I have taken up rather an unduly long space in the discussion of the proposals of the Committee on this one question but I do not think that it is not commensurate with its importance, for this is perhaps the problem of problems in India at the present day.

There is not much to say on the next question propounded by the Committee, *viz.*, the redistribution of provinces. There can be no objection in principle to the Committee's view that the existing administrative divisions of the country are fanciful and artificial without any regard for ethnic, geographical or linguistic unity. From this standpoint their recommendation for redistribution of the provinces on the twin principles of linguistic unity and wishes of the people is justified. But it appears that they have not attached the same degree of importance to another potent consideration, *viz.*, that of administrative convenience including geographic position, economic resources, and financial stability—that it very well deserves. We cannot agree with them when they say “administrative convenience is often a matter of arrangement and must as a rule bow to the wishes of the people.” We think, on the other hand, that the redistribution should be effected by a proper balancing of all these considerations.

Next we come to another question of immense political importance for Indian statesmen to which the Committee have devoted the attention that it well deserves, *viz.*, the problem of the Native States. The first question that they have considered in this connection is whether ‘native states’ can altogether be left out from the scheme of constitutional reform for India and their conclusion is that “there are so many affinities—historical, religious, sociological and economic,—between “the

two Indias' that it would be absurd to deal with the problem of Indian States on the assumption that the dynamic forces now in operation in British India can for a very long period of time be expected to spend themselves on the borders of India." But unfortunately the attitude of the rulers of these States is far from sympathetic in actual practice, whatever may be their professions, to the political aspirations of the people of the two Indias. Here lies the crux of the problem. They have chosen to ask for or to acquiesce in the appointment of the Butler Committee which is precluded, by their terms of reference, from dealing with the constitutional issue, which is sitting in camera to collect information and whose only object seems to be to make out a case for special rights and privileges of the Princes.

The Committee have applied themselves with characteristic ability to a study of the constitutional position of the States, the relationship between the rulers and the paramount power and concluded that so far as the constitutional position is concerned it would not materially be altered if dominion status be granted to India. To quote their own words: "We think, however, that the plain fact ought not to be overlooked that the *Government of India as a dominion will be as much the King's government* as the present Government of India is, and that there is no constitutional objection to the dominion Government of India stepping into the shoes of the present Government of India. If there are personal ties of allegiance or devotion which bind the Indian princes to the throne, person or dynasty of the King, *they cannot, and ought not, to suffer in strength by a change or modification in the composition of King's government in India*, when India attains dominion status." The Committee then go on to expose the fallacies in the arguments put forward by Sir Leslie Scott who has been briefed by the Princes to present their case before the Butler Committee. "In any case" they point out "the conclusion which is sought to be drawn from these propositions is of such far-reaching

consequences that it may be taken as definitely certain that if the Indian Princes decide to take their stand upon the position so ingeniously argued out for them, British India must substantially discount their profession of sympathy with its aspirations to dominion status." The Princes have made a fetish of their direct relationship with the crown but the Committee have brought it home by inexorable force of logic that even admitting its existence the change in the composition or nature of the governmental machinery in India or at Home does not at all alter the situation. The crown does not mean in constitutional theory and practice the personality of the crown but the responsible agents of the crown and in this case it is the King's Government in India, no matter whether that Government be responsible to the British Parliament or the Indian Parliament, whether it be white or brown. If they have no objection to the Political Secretary of the Government of India exercising vast powers over them there is no logic in their refusal to deal with a similar official appointed by the Dominion Government of India. It may be argued that they feel nervous that in case their interests clash with those of the present-day 'British India' they would have to go to the wall. But these fears are, to say the least, baseless and unfounded; because the Committee have provided adequate safeguards against such eventualities. In regard to matters of a justiciable character they have suggested that in case of difference between the Commonwealth and an Indian State on any matter arising out of treaties, engagements and *sanads* the Governor General in Council may with the consent of the State concerned refer the matter to the Supreme Court for decision and the constitution of the Supreme Court may be so devised as to inspire the confidence of all parties. In regard to non-justiciable matters involving financial and administrative relations, they have suggested settlement by means of mutual conferences and understandings. I think these suggestions should be hailed by the Princes as a definite improvement of the *status quo* for now in such cases the Princes get no

hearing at all. The way in which certain Princes have been forced to abdicate of late and the reply to the despatch of the Nizam of Hyderabad advancing his claim to Berar will at once bring home the truth of this statement.

We are in perfect agreement with the recommendations in the Report regarding the relation of the Princes with the future Commonwealth of India, *viz.*, that the Dominion Government of India should simply step into the shoes of the present Government of India. This is the only common platform on which the two Indias can meet.

In summing up the position I would like to quote some passages from an article in a recent issue of an Anglo-Indian Daily Paper on the 'Princely Problems':—

(' They (the Native Princes) use correct and frequently friendly language about the Reforms in British India and the scheme for progressive self-government. They claim also some voice or share in all-India affairs, and on the strength of their well-known loyalty to their treaties and to the crown, they ask that their *direct relationship with the Paramount Power* should continue. It is a good case but there is another side to it. The princes have enjoyed complete immunity not only from war-like attacks by one another or by third parties, but also complete internal security. At rare intervals misgovernment has become such an open scandal that the Paramount Power has intervened, and a ruler has been deposed. But even in such cases the rights of his family have been maintained, whereas a corrupt ruler if left to the mercy of subjects goaded to rebellion might have lost his life and also the throne for his heirs. *It does not seem possible to bring the Princes into an all-India scheme*, and at the same time *to continue the present plan of giving them in general carte blanche to misgovern as much as they like* though we do not mean that misgovernment is the rule. Some constitutional protection, however, the subjects must have. The Paramount Power cannot make a wholly one-sided bargain.' *)

* "Statesman," dated the 25th September, 1928 (D&K edition).

Last of all we admire the foresight of the Committee in having sounded a note of warning against withholding dominion status from India until the States have made up their minds to join the Indian federation. We shall conclude our discourse with some remarks on the outlines of a draft constitution that they have presented in chapter VII of the Report. A constitution can be judged from two standpoints—administrative and philosophic. In its administrative aspect again it may be considered how far it embodies all the fundamental principles of good government or, in other words, how far it deals with indispensable factors of a good constitution, *viz.*, an amending clause, declaration of liberty and the structure of government. But even if it be quite a perfect and finished thing in this respect it points simply to its paper value, the true test of success of a constitution as an instrument of government lies in its smooth working without causing any friction between the different organs of the government as well as between the governmental authority and the people. This can only be judged by the test of time—as a tree can be judged by the fruit it bears. Last of all, a constitution is not to be taken as a mere soulless mechanism but as a barometer of national life and thought. It is an expression of the collective will of the people as to the way how their common purposes are to be realised, how best the many problems of national life are to be solved in consonance with the trends of thought and activity in the world outside. How far a particular constitution proves a success or not in this way—only the verdict of Time can declare.

Now, so far as this draft constitution is concerned we find that as a paper instrument it satisfies all the requirements of a written constitution of an orthodox type beginning, as it does, with a detailed declaration of rights, embodying provision for its amendment and the structure of the governmental machinery.

On the second and third points given above posterity alone can give their judgment if ever it happens to come into force as

the constitution of the federal commonwealth of India with all the details filled up. We shall here confine ourselves to the discussion of some of its salient features.

First of all the declaration of rights strikes us rather as too comprehensive in character and imposing uncalled for limitations on the legitimate sphere of the future Parliament of India. Of course we appreciate their motive in withdrawing certain ordinary civil rights which in other countries are regulated by the legislature in the peculiar circumstances of India,—the motive being to make concessions to minority communities and interests but expediency, in our opinion, is against such a measure. It may lead to further complications every small community and interest may demand special protection against the legislature. It would have a very undesirable effect on the *morale* of the legislature. Items (v), (xii), (xiii), (xiv) and (xvii), i.e., those conferring the right to free elementary education, securing protection against inequality in civic rights on religious grounds and making it obligatory on the Legislature to make laws for the maintenance of health and fitness for work of all citizens, securing living wage for workers, maternity welfare, etc.,—cannot, properly speaking, be brought under fundamental rights. They would constitute an unnecessary handicap on the powers of the legislature and undermine people's confidence in it. Special protection guaranteed to interests of labour by items nos. (xv) and (xvi) may be resented by the capitalistic interests and accentuate the problem of labour and capital as in Western countries instead of mitigating it. In the next place we cannot look favourably upon the proposal for the scheme of the electorate for the Upper House. We fully agree with the Committee that "direct election to the Senate can only result in either a replica of the Lower House or in producing a reactionary body representing some vested interests only" but at the same time American experience of the State legislatures as electorates for the Senate warns us against its repetition here. I think in this respect we may profitably take a leaf out of the French consti-

tution. Electoral Colleges of the French type may be instituted in India and the principle of rotation and partial renewal may be usefully applied in respect of the Senate.

Lastly, let us examine their recommendation for universal adult suffrage. Taking everything into consideration we cannot support the proposal for immediate introduction of adult suffrage in India. Apart from considerations of practical difficulty involved the soil in India is not yet prepared to receive the seeds of universal suffrage.

Demos is, after all, a mighty force, potent of infinite good and infinite evil ; so there is need for caution in handling it. I am not so sceptical as to think that "universal teaching must precede universal enfranchisement." I am even ready to accept the position of the authors of the Report that "any artificial restriction on the right to vote in a democratic constitution is an unwarranted restriction on democracy itself;" but at the same time we cannot brush aside so lightly "the objection based on the prevailing illiteracy of the masses and their lack of political experience." The result of conferring the suffrage on all adult males and females, an overwhelming majority of whom has not even acquaintance with the three R's, not to speak of a fair knowledge of the outlines of the constitution, or the significance of the vote, would be to give a *carte blanche* to demagogues, interested politicians and the landed aristocracy to exploit these people as an instrument for the furtherance of their own interest. Specially in the political atmosphere of the present day surcharged with communal jealousy and distrust and factious spirit of the most abominable character universal suffrage would give a handle to rake up these issues at the general election. If there be some amount of political education in the electorate, voters cannot be worked up so readily by an appeal to these base passions as an uneducated electorate can be. There is no gainsaying the fact that the purpose of introducing joint electorates, viz., to make the candidates of each community

dependent on the votes of the other community and thus for fostering a spirit of mutual sympathy and co-operation—would be defeated by universal enfranchisement *just at the present moment*. I lay special emphasis on the last phrase, as after some time, when communal passions have ceased to run high, when issues other than communal loom large on the political horizon of India as they are bound to do, and when party alignments run on these issues, there is no objection to the introduction of universal suffrage irrespective of considerations of literacy and political education. In England and America also few people have the political education to understand the main political issues of the day and few exercise their vote on a correct estimate of the merits of the cause that each candidate champions. But there they have got clear-cut parties each with a distinct tradition and a distinct outlook on the current problems. So the ordinary voter—the man in the street—is saved the trouble of choosing between the rival candidates and has simply to choose between different programmes and this certainly does not demand a high order of intelligence or political education but only a bit of common sense.

Then again, immediate universal suffrage to females in our country would unnecessarily enlarge the electorate and introduce many complications. Looking at the standard of education or rather literacy, the peculiar social position and habits and customs in this country, one cannot but grow despondent of the prospects of universal suffrage among females. It would be futile in many parts of the country because of the prevalence of the *purdah* system and in others it would have the effect of offering a political premium on early marriage by giving additional weight to the communities among whom this custom prevails; because wives will invariably act on the dictation of the husbands in this matter. I must not be understood, of course, to be opposed to female franchise in principle but what I mean is that our country

is not yet ripe for universal female suffrage, there can be no objection to giving the vote to females with some qualifications. Even in our local bodies universal suffrage has not been tried; even if it had been tried and found successful that would not have warranted us in extending it by parity of reasoning to the sphere of the national government. For the man in the street may be competent to give his judgment on questions of local character which affect him immediately in his daily life. He may exercise his right to vote judiciously in local politics but the same people would fail to arrive at a correct judgment on issues of national importance and of many-sided character.

I think the analogy of the success of universal suffrage employed in the elections to the Shiromani Gurdwara Probandhak Committee put forward by the Committee in advocating its introduction in national elections has not been quite happy for the reason given above.

So, although we would like to see a considerable enlargement of the electorate as the basis for responsible self-government we do not favour the introduction of universal adult suffrage just at the present moment. Of the three other alternative proposals referred to by the Committee we favour the second, *viz.*, "the extension of the franchise from the present six millions to about 60 millions leaving it to a Committee to determine the franchise which would give this result." In other respects the scheme is a finished instrument of human ingenuity embodying the best features of the most up-to-date constitutions in the modern civilised world with due regard to the peculiar conditions of India. Of course how far it would prove successful in practical working time alone can decide.

Differences of opinion there will always be and it would be more than human to expect that the Report will meet with universal approbation in all its details but no one will perhaps question the sincerity of purpose and honesty of

the motives of the authors of the Report in their attempt at creating a common platform for all sections of political thought in India. We may conclude in the words of Sir John Simon "the Report of the Committee is admirably written and an able statement of the view-point of certain groups of Indian politicians."

AKSHOY KUMAR GHOSAL

THE TRUE IDEAL OF A UNIVERSITY

Many of us do not yet thoroughly realise the importance of a teaching University. Ever since the creation of the Calcutta University in 1857 down to 1914, we have been used to an affiliating type of University, which is primarily an examining and regulating body, and not a teaching body. The primary function of such a University is the conducting of examinations, and by means of examinations, and Regulations secure continued efficiency. The training of men for life is left to Colleges established primarily for preparing candidates for examinations.

But the traditional idea of a University in Europe and America is different. The word University comes from the Latin word *Universitas*, a Corporation. . The word *Universitas* is met with in a manuscript of the early part of the thirteenth century relating to the University of Oxford. There the phrase *Universitas magistrorum et scholarium* occurs, which means a Corporation of teachers and scholars. Thus fellowship and research were the characteristics of the first Universities, and the same traditional idea has been handed on to their successors. We read in the Sadler Commission Report that "According to the accepted view of almost all progressive societies, a University ought to be a place of learning, where a Corporation of scholars labour in comradeship for the training of men and the advancement and diffusion of knowledge." In the words of Lord Haldane, "a University is a place of research, where the new and necessary knowledge is to be developed, and it is further a place of training, where the exponents of that knowledge—the men who are to seek authority based on it—are to be nurtured and receive their baptism." Exactly the same view has been taken by Sir Robert Falconer, the President of the University of Toronto in Canada. To quote his words: "A

University is a society of persons whose primary function is to educate and to extend the boundaries of knowledge." In the first place, every University must be a society of persons who labour in comradeship for the advancement and diffusion of knowledge. It is common experience that enthusiasm rouses enthusiasm—that enthusiasm is roused by the personal contact of mind with mind. As iron sharpens iron, so does the countenance of a man his fellow teacher. Men work together, contribute new ideas together, and a disinterested fellow-teacher pursuing earnest researches even in an alien field may inspire another with needed enthusiasm just when the routine of professional duties is proving prejudicial to one's intellectual vitality. Thus a society of intellects is essential in a University.

There must not only be a society of scholars and teachers, but they must go on extending the bounds of knowledge. In other words, they must carry on research: "Research means investigation, the tracking of truth, and truth may lie either behind us or before." It must not be thought that the term research belongs properly to natural science alone, but research in humanistic studies is research as well. In the field of natural science, research is carried on for discovering the hitherto unknown properties of nature. In the field of humanities, it mainly deals with the knowledge of man's thoughts and experience in the past and the present. As a man of culture, we must know human nature, we must know the past histories of nations, we must be acquainted with the various political and economic problems which face us every day. The knowledge of the past history of man's thoughts and experience is as important as the research which produces aniline dyes or the optic glass.

It is common knowledge that unless a study is founded on research, it will die. A teacher who gives the same piece of stereo-typed information, year in and year out, fails to inspire his pupils. A teacher must always be a learner. If he wants to rouse enthusiasm in his pupils, he must not only teach

students the methods of research but go on adding to his stock of knowledge either by personal research or by keeping himself acquainted with the research of others. A stagnant pond refreshes none. But a lake which is receiving a constant flow of living waters can alone be a source of vigour and health to others. By referring to the past history of the Universities of Europe it can be shown that when a University lost its zeal for advancement and diffusion of learning, it became sterile. The University of Paris which was the seat of learning for centuries, "ceased to be a great hearth of intellectual activity," when it lost its spirit of research. Medicine, Law and Theology were cultivated there without an ideal. In the 13th century, Oxford became "a mere aggregate of Colleges and privileged halls," and in the 14th century when Cambridge subserved merely the purposes of worldly ambition it ceased to be a centre of higher culture. Thus we see that fellowship and research are essential features of a University. Judging from the above ideal, the Indian Universities down to 1914 were not Universities. They were not societies of scholars, but only of administrators. They had nothing to do with the training of pupils, but only with their examinations; they were not concerned with learning except in so far as it could be tested by examinations. The Colleges were the only places of culture. But as the real function of these Colleges lay in preparing students for examinations, they were virtually so many coaching schools. As they had the same curricula and had to pay too much attention to examinations, they were of the same model. Their teaching was limited to the ordinary conventional subjects, and their teachers within their own subjects were prevented from teaching things which they knew best. Thus the students did not value culture for its own sake, but mainly as a means for obtaining marketable qualifications. Hence the Calcutta University Commission (1917-1919) recommends that "examination reform is a necessary condition for the reform of education."

We read in the Sadler Commission Report that all the Indian Universities were constituted after the pattern of the University of London. Since 1884 there had been a growing opinion in London that the University ought to have teaching functions and that it was no true University which did not undertake teaching. In 1898 an Act of Parliament transformed the University of London into a teaching University, while keeping intact its system of examinations for external students. In accordance with the recommendations of 1902, the Indian Universities Act was enacted which provided for the teaching function of the University and the Regulations were framed to carry out in detail the principles laid down in the Act. As the Act did not make any provision for the inclusion of the Colleges as constituent Colleges of the University, Indian Universities were confined only to post-graduate teaching in Arts and Science.

Though the Indian Universities Act was passed in 1904 and the Regulations were framed some time after, teaching work on an adequate scale was assumed only by the University of Calcutta so late as in 1914.

There is distinction between a College and a University. It is now generally admitted that College instruction is one thing and University instruction is another. The chief function of a College is to teach young men between the ages of 18 to 22, who still require the guidance of a professional teacher. Its duty resembles that of a secondary school. The only distinction in the function between a secondary school and a College is that in the former the pupil is placed under a strong and despotic control, but the College teaching means a relaxation in the outward form of control while still retaining a sense of responsibility and a personal interest in young men placed under its charge. In the years of higher study at Universities, the relation between the teacher and the taught is accepted on both sides as one of mutual independence, the teachers are only senior colleagues, guiding the independent research of the

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students. In other words, "College instruction requires definite, but not uniform methods, a certain deference to the authority of the master ; while University instruction is much freer, and the scholar is encouraged to inquire rather than to accept ; to test and observe rather than to hear and recite ; to walk with a friendly guide rather than to obey a Commander."¹ Thus a College and a University have to discharge two disparate functions. But in the most of the progressive countries of the world, these two disparate functions combine in one organisation under the name of University, whose aim should never be confused. In Bengal, in the University of Calcutta, these two distinct functions have been kept separate, but in the recently created University of Dacca these two functions have been combined in one institution under the name of University.

But can we set any limit to the boundaries of a University ? We think not. The boundaries of a University are co-extensive with knowledge itself. No knowledge can be foreign to the domain of a University.

To express the same thought in the words of Francis Newman : "All knowledge whatever is taken into account in a University, as being the special seat of the large philosophy which embraces and locates truth of every kind and every method of attaining it."² Viscount Haldane holds much the same view. He says : "It is for us to see that we make the Universities, which after all are the sources of power, *strong enough and comprehensive enough in their aim* to meet the new demand that goes to the very roots of the welfare of the State."³ The late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee had the same high conception of the dignity and vocation of a University when he urged in his Convocation speech in Lahore that it was a "paramount necessity that in a University worthy of the name, the course of instruction should cover the whole field of human thought and

¹ Vide the article "Universities" in Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th edition.

² Essays and Literary Studies, p. 68.

³ Vide the Report of the Second Congress of the Empire.

intellectual activity so that she might participate to the fullest extent in the diffusion and extension of knowledge and that she might be in a position to satisfy the requirements of all the students who might flock to her gates actuated by various kinds of needs and desires."

Indeed, learning has no territorial limits. There is no such thing as national learning. World learning is the only thing worth considering in a University. Such a high conception of the dignity of a University, even higher than anything that can immediately be realized, is the way to ennoble the Institution itself.⁴ We learn from the "Times" that in recent years the University of Oxford has developed, expanded, and modernized. "In 1921 there is hardly a subject of human knowledge, hardly a single language of articulate and inarticulate men on this earth, which has not its own school, professor, and students." "This is equally true of Cambridge, Harvard, Yale and other big Universities of the world. If this is the true ideal of a University, why do we hear talk of specialisation? Why do we hear that each University should confine its attention to some special field of research? This is because if every University will try to do everything, there will be overlapping and waste of energy as well as of money, besides an unhealthy competition. Most of the Universities of the United Kingdom teach Greek and Latin but special provisions for advanced classical studies exist only in Oxford and hence Oxford has specialised in classical studies. Elementary teaching in agriculture has been undertaken by many Universities of Great Britain but special provisions for their study exist only in Cambridge and Reading. Similarly Liverpool has specialised in Tropical Medicine, Leeds in Textiles, Sheffield in Metallurgy. In a country where there are many Universities and where one branch of knowledge is taken up by one of these Universities for specialisation on a large scale and the very same subject is studied intensively by

⁴ Vide Francis Newman's Preface to the translation of Huber's 'The English Universities.'

any other University, there will be overlapping and waste of energy as well as of money. But we must make a distinction between *specialisation* and *generalism* (to use a term coined by Professor Lee of the University of Oxford). All eminent educationists of the world are at one in thinking that some *general* subjects of higher education must be taught in a University even though we wish to apply to it the principle of specialisation. A University cannot wholly confine itself to the study of physical science or wholly to humanism. Students in humanistic subjects will suffer if they are entirely divorced from physical science, and students of physical science will suffer if the whole of their course is devoted to it without an admixture of letters. So every University must teach certain general branches of study but such subjects as Engineering or Metallurgy may not be taken up by every University. There are Universities that have great advantages from their position with regard to specialisation in certain branches of study and those subjects should be undertaken by them for intensive study. For instance, oriental studies may conveniently be taken up by the Indian Universities for specialisation. The Calcutta University is the first teaching University of British India and is of recent growth. Other Indian Universities more or less based upon the Calcutta model have taken up some of those very subjects which have already been taken up by Calcutta. The teaching Universities of India are in the course of formation and so any specialisation can hardly be claimed in their favour.

We learn from the admirable Annual Convocation speech of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the then Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, delivered on the 18th March, 1922, that the Calcutta University authorities took up for post-graduate study and research 21 distinct branches of knowledge, namely, English, Sanskrit, Pali, Arabic, Persian, Indian Vernaculars, Comparative Philology, Mental and Moral Philosophy, History, Political Economy and Political Philosophy, Commerce, Pure Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Physiology, Botany,

Geology, Zoology, Experimental Psychology and Anthropology. The Calcutta University Commission (1917-1919) examined almost all these divisions and their sub-divisions and did not consider them unnecessary. On the contrary, the Commission recommended that further development was desirable in the following branches of study already existing in the University of Calcutta or its Colleges, and that the provision in some of these subjects was quite inadequate: (1) Comparative Philology, (2) English, (3) Sanskrit, (4) Pali, (5) Arabic, (6) Persian, (7) Tibetan, (8) Chinese, (9) Japanese, (10) Philosophy, (11) Experimental Psychology, (12) Education, (13) Physical Education, (14) History including Islamic History, (15) Jurisprudence, (16) Economics and Commerce, (17) Statistics, (18) Physics, (19) Chemistry, (20) Botany, (21) Zoology, (22) Physiology, (23) Bacteriology, (24) Mining, (25) Engineering—Mechanical and Electrical.

Further, Sir Michael Sadler and his colleagues append the following list of subjects in which departments of study ought in future to be established as funds permit:—

(1) Indian Vernaculars, (2) Hebrew and Syriac, (3) Greek and Latin, (4) French, German, and other European Languages, (5) Phonetics, (6) Geography, (7) Palæontology, (8) Astronomy, (9) Entomology, (10) Bio-Chemistry, (11) History of Medicine, (12) Meteorology, (13) Aeronautics, (14) Naval Architecture, (15) Agriculture, (16) Forestry, (17) Sciences of Leather Industries, (18) Colour Chemistry, (19) Metallurgy, (20) Sciences of Textile Industries, (21) Ethnology, (22) Religions, (23) Sociology, (24) Architecture, (25) Indian Graphic Arts, (26) Indian Music, (27) Indian Numismatics.

Thus we see that the Sadler Commission instead of restricting the present expansion of the post-graduate department recommends its further development and expansion, as funds allow. I cannot but conclude this article with the following enumeration of the sound principles that are more or less followed by all the Universities of the United States:—

“1. There is a disciplinary stage in education which is the requisite introduction to the higher and freer work of the University.

2. The success of the higher work depends upon the intellectual and moral qualities of the professors. No amount of material prosperity is of value unless the dominant authorities are able to discover, secure and retain as teachers men of rare gifts, resolute will, superior training and an indomitable love of learning.

3. The professors in a University should be free from all pecuniary anxiety, so that their lives may be consecrated to their several callings ; pensions should be given them in cases of disability, and, in case of premature death, to their families. In methods of instruction they should have as large an amount of freedom as may be consistent with due regard for the co-operation of their colleagues and the plans of the foundation.

4. The steady improvement of the libraries and laboratories is essential if the institution is to keep in the front line. The newest books and best apparatus are indispensable, for instruments and books quickly deteriorate and must be superseded.

5. For all these outlays large endowments are required. To a considerable extent reliance must be placed on wealthy and public-spirited citizens. In order to enlist such support, the members of a faculty should manifest their interest in public affairs, and by books, lectures and addresses should inform the public and interest them in the progress of knowledge.

6. Publication is one of the duties of a professor. He owes it not only to his reputation but also to his science, to his colleagues, to the public, to put together and set forth, for the information and criticism of the world, the results of his inquiries, reflections and investigations. Qualified students should also be encouraged, under his guidance, to print and publish their dissertations.”⁵

ABHAYAKUMAR GUHA

⁵. *Vide* the article “Universities,” in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 27, p. 777.

CHARACTERISTICS OF OLD AND MEDIAEVAL BENGALI LITERATURE.

The interest in modern Bengali literature is daily on the increase not only in Bengal itself but also outside it. The anglicised Bengali Babu, satirised by Tekchand and Bankim, felt, or pretended to feel, contempt for the literature of his country, but these fifty years displaying a remarkable record of literary production and fostering the growth of patriotic impulses, have brought about a change for the better. Bengali literature is no longer considered to be unworthy of notice in fashionable circles ; on the contrary, there are many to-day who believe that it has a glorious future before it. An enquiry then may be reasonably and naturally made as to the temper or spirit of its antecedents or in other words the *characteristics* of the old and mediæval Bengali literature. For this purpose it is certainly not necessary to take a survey of the vast region of Bengali literature from the earliest times to the nineteenth century ; our purpose will be served if we confine ourselves to books of permanent literary value. The minor tendencies may be safely overlooked. Even strict chronology need not hamper us ; we are not tracing the history of Bengali literature or rigorously observing the proper sequence of authors, books and movements ; we are merely concerned here with finding out its dominant characteristics before it came under Western influence, developed tendencies which it had not yet shown, and became modern in tone, in subject-matter and in sympathies.

In the first place, it is to be noticed that what dominates the old and mediæval Bengali literature is the *note of religion*. *Sūnyapurāṇa*, once considered as one of the earliest books but now relegated even to the 17th century, is modelled on the scriptures or rather books of religious procedure, of religious rites, and is a combination (one feels tempted to say, a jumble) of history and theology. *Krishṇakīrtana* contains snatches of real poetry and is mainly erotic from beginning to end ; but even

this has recourse to the Bhāgavata and its mythology for its framework. The Vaisnava works which occupy the major portion of the field breathe a lofty air far removed from the work-a-day world. Numerous are the works of noble sentiment and pious devotion composed by Vaisnavas in elegant verse, but they are explicitly meant to preach and extol the name of God and to explain divine love in their own way.

The Mangal Kāvya, which next claim attention have a definite purpose to serve, to introduce and propagate a certain cult and this motive is obvious. Sometimes there are elaborate invocations, sometimes there are none. In the Chandimangala by Kavikankana published by the Calcutta University as many as one hundred and six pages are occupied with invocations and cosmogony. There are salutations in verse offered to Ganesha, Sūrya, Srichaitanya, Mahādeva, Chandi, Laksmi, Saraswati, Shukadeva, and again to Ganesha—this one running parallel to the first invocation. It is an extreme instance no doubt, but none the less a strong indication of the prevailing tendency. When we next dip into the volumes we find that there is something common in the plot and motive ; that somebody of divine origin—Indra's son or follower of Durgā—has been born as man or woman through some curse and at the expiry of the period of the curse his or her return to heaven is assured ; life on earth is but an episode, always with some definite object which is accomplished in the end, generally to spread the cult of that particular god or goddess who had been offended. This feature of the Mangal Kāvya is to be seen even in such a professedly worldly book as Vidyāsundar. At the very end of the book when Sundara went home with the bride Vidyā and paid meet adoration to the goddess Kālī, she appeared before him and said to the couple :

তোরা মোর দাসদাসী

শাপেতে ভূতলে আসি

• আমার মঙ্গল প্রকাশিলা ।

ব্রত হইল পরকাশ

এবে চল স্বর্গবাস

নানামত আমারে তুষিলা ॥

।

Then, at the end or sometimes in the beginning of a poem, there are informations about the family and lineage of the poet and it all concludes with a prayer for the well-being of the poet and his descendants :

শিবরাম বংশধর

কৃপা কর মহেশ্বর

রক্ষ পুত্রে পৌত্রে ত্রিনয়ান ।—কবিকঙ্কণ চণ্ডীমঙ্গল ।

The metaphysical portion is an occasional feature ; it dwells on how the world was evolved or rather created out of the primal elements ; it treats of the Ādideva and the Ādidevī, mahat, ahaṃkāra, pañchabhūta, and so on till in the Chandimangal (Kavikankān), we get to Dakṣa and his abusing Shiva and the consequent rout of his party. The impulse to write in verse is a divine call ; the poet feels ignorant and shy and then there is a vision and in the vision he receives commands, *e.g.*, in the Annadāmangal :

অন্নপূর্ণা ভারতেরে রজনীর শেষে ।

স্বপন কহিলা মাতা তার মাতৃবেশে ॥

..... ।

মোর ইচ্ছা গীতে তুমি তোষহ আমারে ॥

.....

অন্নদা কহিল বাছা না করিহ ভয় ।

আমার কৃপার বলে বোবা কথা কয় ॥

গ্রন্থ আরম্ভিয়া মোরি কৃপা সাক্ষী পাবে ।

যে কবে সে হবে গীত আনন্দে শিখাবে ॥

এত বলি অমৃতান্ন মুখে তুলি দিলা ।

সেই বলে এই গীত ভারত রচিলা ॥

Thus we find that in the invocation, in the outline or plot of the story, in the motive, in the cosmogony, even in the poet's calling, the note of piety and religion is to be heard clear and unmistakable, compelling attention in spite of the realistic elements in the books.

As the religious tenets were mostly composed in Sanskrit, it is no wonder that the *influence of the classical language* should make itself felt in the vernacular. The fact of the case warrants more than this, due partly to the presence of excellent literary models in the older language. For the most part the mediæval literature grew up under the fostering care and genial influence of Sanskrit. How many of the books are translations, if not literal then of the thought contained in Sanskrit books! Even if we except the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata what about the numerous translations or amplifications of verses from the Bhāgavata? Shrikrisnavilāsa, Shrikrisnavijaya, Shrikrisnamangal (by Mādhavāchāryya), Govindamangal (Kavichandra), Krisnamangal (Jiban Chakravarti)—enumerated by Pandit Amulya Vidyābhusan in his preface to Shrikrisnabilāsa (publication No. 65 of the Bangiya Sahitya-Parisat)—are merely a few names to reckon with; some again take their plot from Sanskrit story books, *e.g.*, Mrigalubdha Sambād by Rāma Rāja—preface, page 5, or Mrigalubdha by Dwija Ratideva—preface, page 3—“মৃগলুব্ধের গল্পটি কোন সংস্কৃত গ্রন্থের প্রতিচ্ছায়া মাত্র।”

The Vaisnava poets contribute in no small degree to the excellence of the literary output but many of their *padas* are striking examples of the rhetorical definitions contained in well-known Sanskrit books on Alamkāra. Such terms as খণ্ডিতা ধীরা মধ্যা, খণ্ডিতা অধীরা মধ্যা, খণ্ডিতা ধীরাধীরা মধ্যা, কলহান্তরিতা etc., have been amply illustrated in their various shades of meaning and setting, regularly and thoroughly, as in a Sanskrit treatise on rhetorical devices. Mediæval Bengali writers turned to Sanskrit for source and inspiration, used Sanskrit mottoes and there are frequent reminiscences or echoes of classical phrases. In the Krisnakirtana, for example, we find two or four lines of Sanskrit verse set in here and there to add a point or embellish, though with doubtful effect, and though there is very little variety in such lines. Sometimes the tendency ran to extremes, resulting in forced contributions. Shri Shri Chaitanya Charitāmrita by Krisnadāsa Kavirāj begins with a string of fifteen verses or

slokas composed in Sanskrit and the first few chapters are fully employed in elucidating and explaining them. The learned author quotes freely from all classes of books—the references are all given by him—the Bhāgavata, Shridhara Swami's commentary thereto,—Bramhasamhitā, Ekādashitattwa, Vidagdhamādhava, Gītā, Bhāvārthadīpikā, Bhaktirasāmritasindhu, Ujjwalanīlamanī, Visnupurāṇa, Vrihad Gautamīya-tantra, Govinda-Līlāmrita, Lalitamādhava and many others. The very plan is Sanskritic, e.g., on page 2, Bangabāsi Edition, we get

সে মঙ্গলাচরণ হয় ত্রিবিধ প্রকার ।

বস্তুনির্দেশ, আশীর্ব্বাদ, নমস্কার ॥

This is in strict conformity with the practice in Sanskrit books, and the principle enunciated here is a Bengali rendering of the statement, too well-known to require repetition, in Sanskrit. Thus we find that the stamp of Sanskrit on the Vernacular literature is clear and unmistakable. All things considered, this influence has proved a helpful asset to the cause of the Vernacular.

May not the *comparative lack of prose* in old and mediæval Bengali be traced to the influence of Sanskrit where also prose works are disproportionately few ? It is true no doubt that in the *pada-rasa-sāra* of Nimānanda Dās we get prose *padas* along with verses (see *Sāhitya-Parisat-Patrikā* for 1321 B.S.); in the *Sūnyapurāṇa* we have here and there lines in prose serving as links ; in this connection it will not be out of place to say that such insertions of short fragments of prose were to be found also in popular Sanskrit works like the Mahābhārata and were in vogue in Indo-Iraian times, and are also to be found in the hymns of the Rig-Veda, in the verse scriptures of the Buddhists as well as in the Gāthās of the Pārsis. Prof. Meillet in his lecture on the composition of the Gāthās delivered in 1925 at the Upsala University remarked on this feature of the literature of the times and suggested an explanation : “ The Buddhist

style of composition, prose for explanations, verse for all that is suggestive and all that is to be pronounced with clearness, distinctness and force, is not an isolated thing in the Indo-European world. It is an antique usage which is found again and again." Some Sahajiyā works were written in prose; in his Introduction to the study of the Post-Chaitanya Sahajiyā Cult (Calcutta University, 1927), Mr. Manindramohan Bose has given a valuable bibliography of Sahajiyā literature. Of the 79 books named and described therein, 14 are in prose; *e.g.* Guṇātmikā, Chandidāser Chaitya-Rūpa-Prāpti, Upāsana-patala, etc. It should be noted here that all these Sahajiyā books that have been considered by Mr. Bose were prosaic in their theme, being concerned with philosophical, theological or ritual matter and were Post-Chaitanya in date; this fact should help to bring in the right perspective and then it would appear how few in proportion these Sahajiyā prose works were. This establishes more firmly than ever that the prevailing form was verse, not prose, in old and mediæval Bengali as well as in other literature in their old and mediæval stages.

All literatures are in their earliest stage musical, spontaneous, without any consciousness of literature as such. They have no idea of their own growth. The historical sense has not grown yet in that stage. Hence criticism has always been but a late growth of the literary faculty. In English literature we come upon criticism of a most rudimentary sort only in the 16th century, and not earlier, the previous works do not deal with any literary development. Bengali is no exception to this general state of things and it does not attain to the self-reflecting or critical stage before it has come under Western influence and stood before various literary models other than its own. There is a considerable amount of descriptive, narrative, biographical and even theological writings in the 18th century and before, but not critical. It had not then come to a position from which it might view itself as literature, pure and simple. The conception of a history of literature or of what

may be termed literary growth or development was unknown to it and consideration of literary movements would have been an impossible task. It may be suggested that its religious nature, disposed to lean on authorities, had partly stood in the way of the growth of this critical faculty. This does by no means overlook the faculty of criticism, which makes itself evident in the selection, compilation and preparation of the *padas* of various poets in the hands of scribes and individual men of letters. But that amounts to saying that the critical faculty is never wholly absent for long in any literature and it does not explain away the absence of works of literary criticism in the language. It might be that here also Sanskrit works of a cognate nature, still holding the ground for their thoroughness and subtlety in the grasp of the principles of literary criticism did not allow this want to be felt much. In this connection we have also to admit that the invocations prefacing the works of the poets in general and addressed to their predecessors in the art reveal a certain amount of historical and critical sense. When all this is said, the fact remains that comparatively speaking, the Bengali literature even so late as the first half of the nineteenth century was deficient in works of literary criticism, historically tracing the growth of the Bengali literature or any part of it, discussing any particular work or any individual author, or dealing with the philosophical treatment of literature in general.

Old and mediæval Bengali seems to have been considered inferior to Sanskrit, Arabic or even Persian, which were languages of culture and means for the higher classes. Prakrita or Parakrita is the term applied to the vernacular, in the sense that it was meant for the common folk. This presents a parallel to the case in Europe where also Latin was the honoured language and the vernaculars were relegated to a secondary place. Even now the trammels of classicism and of the influence of classical literature are hard to shake off in certain parts of Europe. Hence all religious reformers, specially those who sought to create a new faith, looked to

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the vernacular for propaganda purpose, and it was long before it could claim equal attention with the classical language. Thus each religious movement in Bengal synchronised with a period of literary activity in the vernacular tongue. The contact with the Western literatures widened the outlook still further, though it must be confessed with a brief spell of enchantment when it was thought the proper thing even to dream in English, but at last the Bengali literature has been invested with an importance which it lacked before.

In contrast to the Sanskritic domination but united to the main currents of old and mediæval Bengali literature in language, in sentiment and in method of composition stands out the folk-literature, the ballad literature of the country, which sings of the weal and woe of the people—their freedom in the choice of their mates, the oppression of the poor by the rich, the intense devotion of the wife for the husband, the sudden conversion of wicked men through contact with a person of saintly character. This ballad literature has not been very thoroughly explored as yet, but judging by the Mymensingh Ballads which might serve for a specimen, or even considering these ballads by themselves as forming a distinct branch of Bengali literature, we are entitled to form some idea of its nature. While speaking of the Sanskritic influence on the literature of Bengal in the pre-British days, it is but reasonable to point out that there is thus the possibility of a vast literature in the country almost entirely free from it and originating in the spontaneous impulse of natural, born poets to sing in verse the remarkable occurrences of the locality in which they have been born and bred.

However we might thus try to point out the general characteristics of the Bengali literature, it is still impossible to point definitely to its essence. The community which could sometime in its career evolve a new system of logic, a new system of social jurisprudence, a new doctrine of philosophy,

a new aspect of the Vaisnava faith, could hardly fail to be critical in its outlook, though few were the occasions when that critical spirit did express itself in literature. How did the Bengali literature of those days reflect the Bengali spirit as an expression of the Bengali community? The answer is yet to come—from the future student who would study the Bengali literature in close relation to the group of people speaking the language. Meanwhile we have to admit our inability and to guide ourselves in our study by the light of the general characteristics referred to above.

Coming close to the period just before Western influence began to act, if we review the century just preceding the period of Western influence, we find that as we leave the 18th century behind us we feel the presence in the literary region of a certain spirit of decadence though there is much brilliance in it. The acknowledged master is Bharatchandra, the prince of those who have perfect control over the machinery of words, in whose hands the words sway and tremble but the theme reveals the decadent nature within; only the corruptions of the society are treated of as fit subjects for representation. There was again a period of glory for Nabadwip,—in the construction of the temples in the finances in the state, in the prosperity of the clay-modelling industries and in the textile industries alike. And the Bengali muse is busy rolling out verses descriptive of the physical charms of beautiful maidens. The fault lay in having recourse to exaggerated description so much so that sometimes the wood was apt to be lost in the trees and the charms heaped upon one another failed to create life, to present a vivid impression of the beautiful person who was intended to be depicted. Poets vied with one another in dressing out the story of Vidyā and Sundara. Even the Sanskrit poets themselves were restrained in the use of similies, but their disciples writing in the vernacular wanted to improve upon them and laid the brush thick so as to smudge the picture. The literature of the period mainly consisted in the courtly poetry breathed in

the atmosphere of the Nabadwip Court and translated into writing by Bhāratchandra (1712—1760), though the lightness of his touch and some of his other excellences—his literary tricks, as it were—shine in many of the lightsome, briskly moving verses of the Kabiwallas who stretch even beyond the middle of the nineteenth century. Books like the Gangā-bhaktitarangini or the Harililā were written away from the bustle of the court life, in the quiet of the far-off villages. Kālikrisna Dāsa (author of the Kāmini-kumāra) and Rasikachandra Rāy (author of the Jibantārā) were powerful followers of Bhāratchandra in the literary art, which filtered down to Kabiwallas like Rām Basu, Ramdulāl, Antony Feringee, Gopāl Oriya, and the Pāñchālis of Dāsu Rāy, whose life (1804-67) extends far into the period when Western influence has begun to act. Bengali-literature can boast of much good poetry composed in these days but the achievement was more in the direction of better mechanism, a freer language rather than anything else ; but even the over-ornamented stories of illicit love may be regarded as distinct advances towards secularisation, however disguised by a religious purpose. The songs of Rāmaprasād, of Nidhu Babu (1741-1834) and of Haru Thākur (1738-1813), point to a period of literary activity of some sort in which the lyric muse winged its flight with little or no impediment, though puns were the favourite figure of speech resorted to.

From what has been said above it will be easy to understand that the Bengali literature suffered from some great limitations in its subject-matter, its spirit, no less than in its style of writing—in literary form. The fostering care of religion, the influence of the classical Sanskrit literature, the total absence of works of literary criticism, the practical absence of works of prose,—all these go far to support this statement about its limitation. • The comparative decadence in the latter half of the 18th century was due to two reasons : There was a temporary dearth—a lull—of imagination, puns and alliterations

were favourite resources, sometimes they formed the entire stock-in-trade of an aspirant after poetic fame. Again, politically the country was in a tumult and things were unsettled, and no work of any worth had therefore been composed. But this, after all, is a doubtful theory—for political unrest sometimes affects literature, sometimes it does not, and until we find out the reason for the temporary dearth of imagination, we arrive at no reasonable explanation. The decadence is, however, a fact and we have to accept it.

At this stage of the literature, it had to come in contact with Western models and Western ideas. The vernacular literature had come across an apparently inexhaustible treasure-house which it could safely draw upon at will with great profit to itself. The poverty of themes and technique was to be removed by the accession of strange wealth, though—who knows?—there might have been some development at least, independent of any extraneous or foreign influence. Whether this foreign influence has been at all for good has been questioned by some critics of to-day who boldly maintain that Western influence has not resulted in any permanent contribution to the literature of Bengal ; that old and mediæval Bengali literature, appealing directly to the heart of people and reflecting the spirit of the nation, was more deeply rooted on the soil. How far this extreme view may be maintained deserves to be carefully considered.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

THE CONVOCATION ADDRESS OF THE UNIVERSITY
OF MYSORE, BY C. R. REDDY ESQ., M.A. (CANTAB.),
VICE-CHANCELLOR, ANDHRA UNIVERSITY

GRADUATES,

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University Organisation

Speech is or should be action. The action in which I am now engaged with the generous co-operation of the Andhra academic authorities is University Organisation. And I am further impelled to deal with this subject by the irresistible attraction of the grand educational reconstruction adopted within the last two years by Mysore under the guidance of your famous Vice-Chancellor. It is one of the biggest achievements in Indian educational history; and it is bound to influence other Universities in no small degree.

I have read again and again the great speech in which Sir Brajendranath Seal introduced the new scheme in the Senate explaining its scope and how it was correlated with the psychology of our people and the needs of Mysore. It is a document in which constructive educational schemes have been thought out in every part and detail in terms of our life and conditions. To praise Sir Brajendranath Seal must sound like impertinence on my part. But that will not deter me from saying that in my humble judgment his speech deserves to rank with the greatest documents of our educational history.

Favourable Situation in Mysore

In relation to University Organisation Mysore has been exceptionally fortunate in at least two respects. You have a

teaching University with a stable staff, immune from mercurial fluctuations of function and locality. And your Government is anxious to operate it in the closest possible co-ordination with its other departments of State, such as Industries, Railways, Public Works, Commerce, Banking and all the range of its administration and economic enterprises. The University is not regarded as an interloper, and having created a University, they have not left it at a foundlings' hospital as their highest act of statesmanship; and liberally consigned it to thrive on private charity. No wonder then that in its organisation on the side of substantial education and the amplitude of its activities, the Mysore University is advancing and extending with a speed and momentum that breaks my heart with envy, though as an old Mysorean I allow my humanity to prevail and rejoice unboundedly. Many faculties have been added, still more are in the process of being added; provision has been made at the different grades for vocational, industrial, technical and technological training and education; archæology and history have been brought together under one roof; the critical and scientific study of Oriental Cultures and Indology have been provided for; the Entrance and First-Year Examinations have been abolished to my entire, though belated, satisfaction; and in every way justice has been done to the essentials of an oecumenical University—which is my word for Dr. Seal's International—without neglecting regional needs.

The Oecumenical and Regional Types

But indeed I fail to see how the two types could be entirely separated and whether there are two types at all anywhere instead of a composite one everywhere. Perhaps it is a difference of degree and not of kind. Regional elements may be found at Oxford itself, let alone Cambridge. The medium of education is English—a regional language; they don't neglect English History and Politics, and since the War, Applied Sciences are

receiving increasing attention. Nor is Leeds, which on all accounts rendered the largest amount of national service during the Great War, without its elements of universality. Its woollen, leather and printing departments attract students from all parts of the world. The present Superintendent of your Government Press underwent, I believe, much of his training in Leeds. Even Applied Science is science and there cannot be a particular which does not imply a universal.

The State in Relation to the University

But the regional idea is of inestimable value in India from another and more practical aspect. It suggests with compendious clearness the relations that ought to subsist between the State and the University. No adaptation of a University to regional requirements is possible, unless Government, which is the largest employer of labour in India, actively encourages and promotes such an adaptation and is willing to use the University as its chief depot for supplying the human power required in all its departments and enterprises, as is done by every nation-state in the world. Government would then not merely help to lessen educated unemployment but would provide itself with an adequate motive for financing the University in order to enable it to maintain the highest world standards in all its departments and advance in the van of discovery and invention. When its own graduates are not wanted and overlooked, how is progress, material or moral, possible? Electrical, Railway, Mining, Marine and other forms of Engineering, etc., ought to be cultivated in India and to the highest degree possible, but then the State should not starve its own men in the name of an efficiency that it will not promote. Nor will throwing open this place or that place with fractional, niggardly hand meet the needs of University Organisation. We cannot organise courses for one man or two. We must admit as many as we can, consistently with efficiency of teaching and practical works ;

otherwise the facilities in Professors and Laboratories that we provide will not be utilised to the full. Let me quote what I said on another occasion, as I consider this point to be one of the vital elements of the regional idea :—

“National efficiency would require the organisation of Engineering and other technological courses. But even here Government policy is a big factor, and Government may either accelerate or retard progress by the manner in which it provides openings in its technical departments for our qualified people. Still, the University can do its duty. As regards the argument that Government can't provide places for every one, I consider it to be sound as far as it goes. But surely Government can do much to promote industry and commerce, and is itself the biggest industrial factor in India, and therefore its action is decisive even as regards the development of commerce and industry by private enterprise and the openings thus made available for Indians. Government need not *create* places for our qualified men ; if it fills such places as there are with them, that will suffice.

“What I wish to emphasise is that Education and University are inextricably mixed up with society on the one hand and Government on the other, and cannot be regarded as factors which can function and produce results in isolation and abstraction.”

University Autonomy

Though thus the State should foster the University by providing adequate careers within the extent possible in its organisation and by the general development of the country as well as adequate funds, it should not convert either by law or administrative or financial pressure the University into a department of the State.

All the world over collegiate and higher education is organised almost without exception by Universities, though

most of the modern Universities depend almost entirely on Government for their support. To create a University and then to treat it as a body to be either starved or enslaved appears to me to be what Euclid so eloquently styles "*reductio ad absurdum*." The reason why Universities are financed by the State and allowed the fullest autonomy is that world experience extending over centuries has proved conclusively that such an agency is better fitted to carry out the mission of higher culture and research than a department of the State. The finest academic growths are not possible under the shadow of bureaucratic authority. As Lord Bryce put it :—

"Freedom is the life-blood of University teaching. Neither the political opinions of a professor, nor the character of the economic doctrines which he holds and propagates ought to be a ground for appointing or dismissing him, nor ought he to be any less free to speak and vote as he pleases than any other citizen. And though it is right and fitting that the State should be represented in the governing authority of a University which it supports, experience seems to have proved that both the educational policy and the daily administration and discipline of a University ought, as far as possible, to be either left in academic hands or entrusted to an authority on which the academic element predominates."

Lord Balfour speaking more recently thus declared :—

"If the State be asked to subscribe great funds, either in this country or in any of the Dominions or indeed in any country, there will always be a natural and pardonable instinct on the part of the State to control and supervise the working of an institution which it is doing so much to support. *It is perfectly natural but it is extremely dangerous.* Cambridge, Oxford and the old Universities are receiving assistance from the State, but our University traditions are so

deeply rooted that I do not think there is any symptom, as far as my judgment goes, of any Government attempting to interfere with the University. *University autonomy, whether it be well exercised or ill exercised, is at all events at the worst far better than State control.*' (The Italics are mine.)

I notice that in Mysore the Senate has been engaged in an invasion of the Syndicate and I wish the expedition every success. I hope the day is not far distant when the University staff will be omitted from the Civil List as being out of place.

The psychology of some of our Governments is at times baffling. They can't trust local bodies with power because there are not enough educated members on them. They won't trust the Universities because they have none but educated persons on them. The only category they confide in, is the Secretariat, which not infrequently functions in an atmosphere of transcendental authority mightily elevated above the reach of reason and criticism. If consistently benevolent and uniformly wise, bureaucratic absolutism may possibly make a people fat but it can never make them strong. And the weakness of the people is bound to result sooner or later in government debility.

But the transformation of the Mysore University into an autonomous corporation does not appear to me to be a simple process. It would involve a revision of the constitution in many respects including the system of elections now in vogue. As a way out of the dilemmas presented by the opposing considerations of liberty and prudence including the necessity for securing a predominant position to the academic element, a more complex and balanced type of constitution like the one originally recommended by some of us when the University was being founded, may, after all, have to be adopted with the changes shown to be necessary by subsequent experience.

Andhra Autonomy

If Mysore excels in educational content the Andhra University may legitimately claim to have the better academic form, thanks to the generous statesmanship of the last Ministry and the Legislative Council. It is easily and by far the most autonomous corporation of its kind in India. Only two are nominated, and that too by the Chancellor—which in practice is a real distinction from the Governor—to the Syndicate. And the nominations to the Senate do not exceed twelve, and these again are made by the Chancellor. The University has full control of educational regulation and all appointments in the University are entirely within the competence of the University authorities. If only this outburst of confidence in the Andhra genius to administer a University had been accompanied by an equally magnanimous financial confidence in its capacity to spend economically and efficiently by the adoption of the system of block grants and by the transfer of Government Colleges as contemplated in the Act, so that the Teaching University intended by Government might be realised, the Andhras too would have attempted constructive educational policies. But the headquarters problem blocks the way.

The Vernacular Medium

It is with no small hesitation and nervousness that I venture to remark that the very essence of the regional idea is education as far as possible through the vernacular. I don't belittle the importance of the oecumenical or international ideal. I dismiss the oecumenical as impossible of achievement in this respect, because there is as yet no universal language. And the international presupposes that we should be a nation first and take part in world-exchanges of thought and culture as an equal.

Thus both the international and the regional ideas involve instruction through Kannada.

Mysore here again is fortunate to a degree that will not be possible in British India until provinces are reconstituted on a linguistic basis. Mysore is almost unitary in its language, for the Telugu that you have in your Eastern districts is twin sister to Kannada with indistinguishable lineaments. Nor is there any need or necessity for having an official language different from the people's. But we lack self-confidence on this subject. In theory we all agree that it is easier to master and spread knowledge by employing a natural instead of a foreign medium. But we are afraid of impairing the estimation in which our educational efficiency is held by others. It seems so easy to borrow the ready-made clothing of Europe : so difficult to produce the raiment ourselves. We seem to lack the imaginative power to view things in the growth. And we are obsessed by the possible discount to which our degrees would be subjected. As regards researches and original work, nobody holds that their value would depend on how excellently they are narrated in English or French ; and when our Universities put forth a sufficient amount of higher work, the credit that they will thereby achieve will extend to all the degrees they confer. But I don't wish to say more on the theory of vernacularisation, which has been discussed threadbare. Only one observation may be repeated. That it need not produce a lowering in the standard of English and that every care should be taken that English is properly and adequately studied as a language. With this caution I don't see why we should not vernacularise to the utmost possible extent immediately. The Calcutta University Commission was of opinion that up to the Matriculation standard all subjects except English and Mathematics should be taught in the vernacular ; and this recommendation has, I believe, been widely adopted. Since then vernaculars have made a fair amount of progress and it should not be beyond the capacity

of an expert committee to determine what subjects in the Intermediate grade could be taught in the vernacular. Instead of vernacularisation by grades, may we not begin vernacularisation on a subject basis? May not Indian History, for instance, be taught in Kannada, from the lowest up to the B.A. and M.A. standards?

Lack of text books is no doubt a difficulty, but men are more important than books. If the proper lecturers are forthcoming, the lectures will be forthcoming, and the books will automatically follow. Professors at Oxford and Cambridge, have a working knowledge of a number of European languages, and they are able to base their lectures on world contributions to their line of study. In the same manner those who lecture in Kannada in the University grades might be required to possess a sufficiently good knowledge of English and perhaps one other language, for them to be able to consult with advantage authoritative books written in those languages. The methods of teaching and training prevalent in the great Universities of the West proceed on the view that the mind is a vital growth to be fostered and strengthened and not an emptiness to be mechanically stuffed. They concentrate on the development of faculty and acquisition of knowledge and not on the attainment of a tongue.

In fairness to the Andhra academic authorities, who are considering this question, I must say that these are my personal opinions which it would be my duty to change if convincing arguments to the contrary are forthcoming. Further, there are some special complications which have to be taken into due account in the Andhra area, namely, correlation with competitive examinations and service conditions and the existence of other vernaculars.

Women's Education

The regional idea can't receive its fullest application unless it includes women within its scope. And in view of the very

early age at which girls are withdrawn from schools and bundled into matrimony, I don't see how the maximum amount of knowledge could be imparted unless the vernacular medium is employed, even allowing for the natural and superior sharpness of their tongues. If one of the objects of an educational system is to broadcast existing knowledge, to carry it to every household including those in the remotest villages and irrigate our darkness by channels of light, and if it is further conceded that in the conditions in which they are placed, the imparting of the maximum of knowledge in the minimum of time to girls is possible only under the regime of the mother tongue, it is a matter for consideration whether India should decide for a differentiation of her media of instruction on a sex basis, making English the medium for boys and the vernacular the medium for girls!

Women's education deserves to be remodelled. There should be no compulsion in the matter, and women wanting to take the general courses prescribed for the boys should be at perfect liberty to do so. But it is a mistake to think that the best possible intellectual training could not be given to women in ways better adapted to their general mode and mission in life.

During my second European tour Sir Arthur Smithells of Leeds University drew my attention to the King's College for Women, which provides a three year course in Household and Social Sciences of a collegiate grade, and qualifies for a degree in the London University; the degree, mind you, which ought to reassure ladies who want to become Bachelors! The art of household regulation requires a knowledge and application of a large number of sciences, Physics, Physiology, Chemistry, Biology, Economics, and certain portions of law, to mention a few.

Household Science is a field still to be organized and explored in India. Mrs. Sidney Webb once remarked to me that we were the most unhygienic nation in regard to food.

The poor have little to eat and the rich don't know what to eat and how to prepare or preserve it—too much ghee, too much sugar, too much spices too ill-assorted and ill-conditioned food, diabetes, and an early break-up of health and strength—that has been the routine of Hindu existence.

There is a vast literature on the values of the foods that Europeans consume. Indian foods remain to be scientifically investigated.

A woman is also an administrator and domestic economist. She must be able to prepare her domestic budgets with intelligence and forethought.

In India the widow is too often a helpless dependent and victim of her male relations with no idea of her rights and the laws pertaining to inheritance, division of property, etc., and incapable of defending her interests. Now that political rights are being conferred on women, her development as person and citizen has to be given due consideration in our curricula. To rescue our sisters from their condition of helpless dependence is a mission that educated India ought no longer to delay.

The State in Relation to Women

The organisation of the State in relation to women's interests and advancement should be planned out boldly and comprehensively. And I know of no State in India that is likely to take up this task in real earnestness and carry it to a chivalrous success, excepting Mysore. A survey should be made of the number of child welfare centres, women's hospitals, primary and middle schools with proper provision for vocational training, institutes for imparting a knowledge of household sciences, cottage industries, hygiene, nursing, etc., to the grown up women, and on that basis the necessary educational and administrative staff and other provisions should be made. Administrative arrangements with special reference to women's needs and progress have not been sufficiently developed in our

country. And when developed, they will absorb all the women power that could be produced from our schools and colleges. And they will be absorbed too in ways more natural and healthful to themselves and to society than has been the case till now with the one-sided education they have been getting—an education which does not fit in with the scheme of life of the vast majority of women.

I am deeply impressed by the methodical manner in which the Missionaries as at Hassan and other centres are not merely imparting book knowledge but building up morale and civilisation amongst the lowest of our social orders and raising them to the status of efficient, self-respecting humanity. If education and government are conceived in some such broad spirit, as charged with the mission of building up life and civilisation, the importance of a systematic organisation of the State in relation to women will be easily understood.

Women's Enfranchisement

But women's enfranchisement depends ultimately on two factors, the abolition of early marriages and the granting to them of equal property rights with men. So long as she remains an economic outcast with no property rights in the parental home and nothing more nourishing of body and mind than a maintenance allowance in the husband's, she can never realise her essential humanity. And where woman is not allowed to be fully human, the mentality of society is bound to be, in some degree at least, inhuman. Give her the cash and she will obtain the credit for herself!

Control of Technical Education

Not infrequently doubts are expressed whether the Vice-Chancellor and the Director of Public Instruction are the best authorities to be entrusted with the management of vocational,

industrial, technical and technological institutions that are now generally conceded as being within the scope of the composite, full-blooded modern educational organisations. I am in favour of keeping them within the purview of the Vice-Chancellor and the Director of Public Instruction. For this reason, management by the Vice-Chancellor in effect means management by the Syndicate on which technical authorities are bound to be represented, and appropriate Faculties and Boards of Studies. Nobody proposes that the Medical College and the Engineering College should be taken out of the jurisdiction of the University.

As regards the Director of Public Instruction, what with the large number of technical and sectional assistants with whom he has been provided, his administration has in fact become administration by a Board of Education. This machinery may be improved by including on the Board representatives of the technical departments of the State. That co-operation and correlation between the Railway, Industries and other departments and the educational administration is desirable and necessary, nobody will dispute. In the principle of the Board system of administration, which ought to be diligently explored, some way may be found for bringing about more expressly that co-ordination. All things considered, it seems best not to remove industrial and technical education from the highway of the State's educational organisation and consign them to departmental blind alleys, which would impair their popularity and efficiency.

Medical Colleges and the University

As regards medical education, the following extract from the report of Sir Norman Walker and Colonel Needham is evidence of the superiority of a University organisation with its fixed staff of specialists over Government organisation with a floating and miscellaneous staff.

Speaking of the Madras Medical College and Hospitals they say, "The staffs of the College and the Hospitals are provided from the Madras Medical Department ; the system is unsatisfactory ; it restricts the field of recruitment, and in practice involves too frequent changes in the staffs."

Speaking of the Vizagapatam Medical College they say, "The training in clinical medicine has been seriously prejudiced by frequent changes in the post of Professors of Medicine..... The facilities for training in the special departments have not been developed."

The General Medical Council while dissatisfied with the old state of affairs, appears to be still more apprehensive of inefficiency resulting as a consequence of the Indianisation of the I. M. S. and the appointment of more Indians as Professors in the Medical Colleges. It would seem to any fair-minded enquirer that the real sin consists not in the nationality of the teacher but in the defective organisation, perhaps inevitable, under Government management. This aspect has been dealt with in the reply to Sir Norman Walker's criticisms prepared by the Medical Faculty of the Bombay University. They cast the blame on the Governmental system and append statistical tables to prove their point. Not a few men seem to have been appointed as Professors while yet of twenty-six years of age or under. And not a few of the Professors had held as many as six Professorships before they retired. Even in the period between 1900-1910 there have been instances of I.M.S. officers who have held six, five and four Professorships respectively. Pluralism in Professorships seems to have been the rule. Even some of the younger men who were appointed in the period of 1910-1927 as Professors have already held as many as three Professorships; and at this rate before they retire they are likely to box the entire compass of the Medical Chairs going. The Bombay Medical Faculty comments as follows : "When a vacancy arose in one of these Chairs a man had to be found, from amongst the service men,

regardless of the fact that none may be available who had special training to fit him for the appointment." The example quoted by Sir Norman on page 5 of Appendix XV "where the fact that a man had passed the primary examination for the F.R.C.S., England, ten years before was regarded as sufficient proof of his capacity to act as Professor of Physiology" emphasises the fact that this practice still obtains in Colleges where the teaching staff has to be found from the service. Such mutations, (or is it mimeries?) are to be met with in the field of the Indian Educational Service also, though not to anything like the same extent.

It is impossible to deny that there is some point in Sir Norman Walker's pessimistic outlook. Defective as the old arrangements had been, Indianisation without regard to the right system of recruitment and management, may not improbably result in a graver situation. The saving grace is not to be found either in Indianisation as such or in Europeanisation as such or any other type or variety of racialisation such as Mysoreanisation, but if I may venture to say so, in direct University management of medical education which will guarantee a specialist and stable staff with every incentive to keep up their studies and engage in research. And paradoxical as it may sound, some Governments are inclined to adopt University principles without University management.

In the United Provinces, Government have handed over their Medical College at Lucknow to the University, one result of which has been the spiriting away of one of the ablest of your medical men, Dr. Acharya, from your midst. Other Governments are organizing in response to the criticism of the General Medical Council Bodies of specialists for their Medical Colleges. That is to say, while they will not trust the Universities, they will become Universities themselves: Is this a case of imitation being the sincerest form of flattery or one of stealing their robes while Universities are still slumbering over their rights?

Once disentanglement from the Services is decided upon and the organisation of a specialist corps adopted in principle, there can be no rational ground for refusing to take the more natural and efficient step of making these colleges integral parts of a teaching University. Let me not be misunderstood. I am deeply grateful to the Services and the organisations that I would like to see supplanted, for the eminent way in which they helped our country in the past and brought her up to a state at which further developments have become inevitable. But gratitude should not be allowed to obstruct duty.

Technological Colleges and the University

The moral of this is applicable to other technological institutions also. That is why in the Andhra University Act express provision has been made for establishing all the technological institutions to be organised in the future under the direct control and management of the University, of course, with the aid of Government funds.

If it is wisdom to start all future technical colleges under the immediate auspices of the University, can it be folly to transfer the existing ones to the self-same management? One can't follow easily the logic of this hesitation or rather unwillingness. Apparently Universities can be trusted to do the following: to formulate syllabuses; to inspect and ascertain if the teaching is up to standard; to hold examinations and to grant degrees. But Universities may not be trusted to appoint the proper teachers and manage institutions; I mean Universities in India, for Universities abroad are of course absolutely trustworthy. If direct University management is held to be less efficient, then would it not be better for the departments to award their own diplomas instead of making it incumbent on their students to seek effete University degrees?

The Essence of a University

Desirable as all these reforms are and necessary, the essence of a University remains to-day what it has always been, namely, a corporation of teachers and taught, a spiritual and cultural entity pursuing knowledge for its own sake, extending the boundaries of Science and Art and functioning as one of the source powers for increasing humanity's hold on the good, the true and the beautiful. It is this creative spirit that distinguishes a University from the merely distributive function of High Schools. Where that creative spirit is lacking, where it is not conserved and promoted by proper organisation and the necessary institutions and facilities inspired by teachers of genius, there we can have nothing more than a Continuation High School.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee

No one can deal with this, the very soul of University organisation, without invoking to his aid the spirit of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the pioneer genius who introduced genuine University education in India. Until he established his Post-Graduate College under direct University management, there were in the true sense of the term neither Universities nor Colleges. Our Universities were more examining and affiliating Boards; our Colleges glorified High Schools.

Young men fresh from Oxford and Cambridge selected on the lax and false test of their College record were started off as Professors, put in charge of responsible University work, were provided with careers for life and then by sheer force of sumptuous seniority exalted to the headship of departments. No wonder that, as Dr. C. V. Raman has remarked, in most of our Universities, Honours and Post-Graduate courses proved a failure. Even the syllabuses and curricula were not up to date. In many cases they did not represent to any extent growth from within

the University, but were mechanical importations from the curricula of Western Universities, scissors and paste work! Universities that introduced the distinction between the Pass and Honours Courses were hardly able to maintain that distinction in actual work. Occasionally they tried to enliven the spirit of local teaching by getting a foreign Professor touring in India to deliver a few lectures. If a candidate submitted a thesis for the Doctorate Degree, it had to be exported for adjudication to foreign lands. Even some of our teaching Universities have not come up to standard in their staffing arrangements. They are trying the speculative expedient of sending out brilliant graduates—gold medallists I suppose, though some one or other is bound to get a gold medal every year—to England, and this educational pilgrimage for a foreign degree suffices to make them Professors for the rest of their lives. Such is the system of outdoor relief of our pauperism in organisation that many of our Universities are not only content to live on but flaunt before an ironical world as symptoms of the high efficiency from which they are suffering. Until the patriotic genius of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee struck the note, the elementary idea of introducing in our Universities conditions of life and work and staffing, which are the routine of the organisation of successful Western Universities, did not suggest itself to the rulers in India, though Gokhale as a member of the Royal Commission on the Public Services had with his usual power of constructive criticism hinted at the rightful measures. Sir Asutosh had to found his limited but genuine University, so famous to-day all the world over as the Post-Graduate College in Calcutta, on the slender basis of private benefactions though Governmental moneys were never lacking for uneconomical diversions and projects. The old Calcutta University could not be transformed into a real University. Asutosh's College had therefore to be made a Post-Graduate institution, something superimposed on the University and not so much as the University itself.

Sir Asutosh's example has not been without a following. Lucknow and Allahabad have reconstituted themselves as Universities true to type. The An̄hra Desa is in the throes of a similar labour, but the agony has been too prolonged.

Principles of Staffing

If Colleges are regarded as continuation High Schools, in which what is aimed at is detailed lecturing, the pumping of copious information, digested into notes, into the minds of students, preparing them for examinations, mass production of graduates qualifying for nothing more inspiring than clerical jobs, the Professors too would be recruited on the same principle as High School teachers. They would be chosen merely on their College record and appointed for life. They would be given graded appointments on the assumption that the older they grew the more efficient they became, and there would be talk of graduates of ten years' standing and twenty years' standing, though very often it is a case more of stooping than of standing, as though intellects mature by sheer process of time, like wine in wood.

It was with a view to prevent the miscarriage of the objectives of University education that the following recommendations, which have served as the basis of the staffing scheme now adopted, were made by the Andhra University Committee so early as 1921 :—

“ The University should be manned by Professors of high standing who would be able to stimulate the character and intellects of the students and inspire them to enquiry, research and propaganda.

“ In the Honours and Post-Graduate courses students should be more guided than taught and they should be made, as far as possible, to discover knowledge for themselves rather than have it crammed into them by notes and text books,

“ It is desirable that Professors should be appointed for a period of ten years but subject to eligibility for re-election. But if the limitation of the term to such a period cannot secure the proper type of Professors, *it would be better to make the conditions of service more attractive as by higher salaries, etc., than to abrogate the principle of limited tenure.*

“ Where specialists have to be employed, the best men should be secured irrespective of nationality, though other things being about equal, preference should be given to Indians, and in the case of such specialists the University should pay whatever sum is necessary to get their services.”

The actual scheme adopted in principle by the Andhra academic authorities is as follows :—

(1) University appointments should not be made on the basis of the College record of the applicants but on the basis of their original work and research.

(2) Nor should they be on life tenure but on a limited tenure of five to seven years according to the nature of the subject, but with eligibility for re-appointment. (This was one of Gokhale's main points.)

This means, of course, that only specialists should be appointed, the educational consequence of which is that the courses should become more diversified and greater choice given to students to specialise. Optional courses should be enormously increased, the result being small classes, less lecturing, the students being left to work for themselves under general guidance, mental and moral development of the students to a greater extent than is possible under the system of detailed lecturing and mass production of graduates, and hopeful preparation for genuine intellectual life.

(3) As at Lucknow, the Syndicate may, for special reasons, appoint a Professor on special terms.

There will be no Assistant Professors and the word Assistant connoting some kind of personal subordination to a

superior has been abolished from the Andhra classification. Professors, Readers, etc., will have their own spheres of work, arranged by the Faculties and all will have enough leisure to pursue their researches and satisfy their moral craving for name and fame. Even though there may be differences in material conditions, there ought not to be any in the fellowship that should prevail. The Vice-Chancellor himself should function as a brotherly elder without assumption of superior authority or superior wisdom. Nothing is so destructive of the integrity of University life as the mandarinism of mediocrities, breeding jealousies, producing an atmosphere of self-centered calculations, and breaking up comradeship. With a genuine University staff, segregated from the Civil List and intent on high-souled pursuits, this will not happen, but a fraternal spirit will prevail.

In Western Universities, Professors not uncommonly lecture sometimes only one hour a week but never more than three to four hours a week and they lecture on the subjects of their own research and not necessarily on examination topics. These latter are attended to by the Lecturers and Readers but even they are not so heavily worked as High School teachers, because, since all are appointed on account of their original work, they must be given time and scope for carrying on their researches as otherwise it would result in a criminal waste of talent. There should be far less lecturing in our Colleges and great many more Lecturers to do that less lecturing!

The way to Lecturerships, Readerships and Professorships must be prepared by a large scheme of Fellowships. The most brilliant men, men with clear promise of originality, should be made Fellows on an adequate allowance, say Rs. 150 a month, the allowance adopted in the Andhra University, so that they may be saved from the worry of creature necessities. The Fellowships should be tenable for a period of, say, three years and such of the Fellows as fulfil expectations should be drafted on to the teaching posts.

In the recruitment of the staff, merit should be the only consideration. Students should not be defrauded of their right to receive the best and most inspiring training under the plea of localism or communalism. A University organisation of this type would obviate the evil of what Sir P. C. Ray has called mass production of graduates and consequent unemployment of the educated. Once High School methods are discontinued at the College stage, students incapable of working according to University standards will drop out. Employment of specialists, diversified courses, increased options, smaller classes, self-help and self-reliance on the part of students, the joy of research work, the disinterested pursuit of knowledge, and daily contact with noble souls—all these go together, and they will help to obviate both mass production of graduates and sterile, insignificant careers. It is miseducation, not over-education, that has been the bane of the country.

I think the ideal University will in its form and constitution be as democratic and autonomous as the Andhra University and in the field of substantial work covered, an amalgam of the Calcutta Post-Graduate College and the Lucknow and Mysore Universities. Has not Sir Asutosh's College been a glorious success? Are not the Palit, Ghose, Hardinge, King George V and other Professorships a world-asset to-day, and if the Calcutta College could succeed in producing such an amazing amount of research in every branch of learning, why should any one doubt the success of an institution of the kind imagined here—it may be a dream to-day but I trust it will be a reality soon—thus organized and having a wider range of activities?

Even a crore of rupees is not the limit of useful expenditure on a University. Our governments are not spending on their Universities a tenth of what they should—not even Mysore.

Lord Goschen on the Ideal of the Andhra University

His Excellency the Chancellor of the Andhra University in laying down his policy thus expressed himself in his inspiring

address to the last Andhra Convocation, an address which has been hailed as the Magna Charta of the University :—

“The ideal that we have set before us is the development, not of a University in the sense of a brick and mortar structure, but a University community—a large and mutually stimulating and inspiring community of Professors with an assured standing for creative output, and Researchers and Scholars. It is only by evolving such a community that we should be contributing our solution or rather the academic factor in the solution of the problem of building up a healthy, strong, well-balanced judgment and character in the youth of our country.”

Ah, if only institutional reality could soon be given to these noble aspirations !

Character and College

If the youth of our country are lacking in judgment, will and character, it is to some extent because of the defective nature of the education they receive at the University. We prolong their boyhood from High School to College and then we wonder that they don't grow up into manhood but remains boys with all the attractions and weaknesses of boyhood. At one moment they would be going about as though they were possessed of all knowledge and could bring about the instantaneous salvation of India if only their way was not barred by their elders, whose wisdom and experience they treat as naught. To such I can only repeat the scornful admonition of the old moralist, who was apparently thinking of graduates in their academic caps, “Remember thou art a chicken just hatched with the shell still on thy head.” Anon these same graduates, at the first icy touch of life's sharp realities will be seen going about or rather drifting about with helpless look and hopeless outlook beseeching people to advise them as to what they should do. They know how to prepare themselves for examinations but the series of examinations having ended, they do not know what to do

with themselves. If there were examinations and parental financial assistance till they reached 55 years of age, when they could retire on a pension, that would be near to their notion of an earthly paradise. If the intellectual and social discipline—I hope they have had both—connoted by a four-years' University career has not helped them to find their bearings in life, has not given them judgment, taste and will sufficient to enable them to determine their careers, no Convocation Address could avail to save such ineffectual craft from foundering miserably. This is one reason why I have avoided the tone of moral exhortation customary on these occasions. I am tired of the annual letting off of idealistic fire-works in the Convocation sky and sentimental adoration of the departed glories of Nalanda, Takshasila and Amaravati. The Hindu mind revels in mythercraft; and once you are departed, you can safely reckon on becoming a glory! It is the duty of those that are not amply confident of building a big future to reverse their attention and create a glorious past; and this duty we have always fulfilled to our entire and exclusive satisfaction.

Our True Task

The true task before us is to bring these ideals down to earth and give them body, shape and functioning power in organisation, institution, and administration. True, their working can never be automatic—either fool-proof or knave-proof—and must depend on character and personality. However much we may give institutional regulation to our moral aspirations, there is always an elusive soul beyond the reach of analytical grasp and administrative envisagement which can be felt only by intuition; a mystic surd, racial and individual, which cannot be resolved into rational factors but which is the source of all power and vital virtue, the grace and salvation of life. Where that soul is lacking, institutions like bodies will decay. The recent history of India shows that the soul of our people is not dead but alive and capable of expressing itself in

spite of the debris and disabilities heaped upon it by ages of disastrous history. Whoever would have thought that Sir Asutosh's College entirely staffed by Indians would in a decade produce such an astonishing amount of original work, astonishing alike in volume and quality and prove an acquisition to world-culture ? "United like word and meaning," like beautiful word and soulful meaning, that pregnant phrase of Kalidas aptly describes the happy conjunction needed for realising the fullness of life. The power of thought is there in our countrymen ; the soul, imperishable, sublime ; only the instrumentality of institutions is lacking. It is for the rulers and leaders of India not to be content with sentimentalising over ideals and providing merely verbal incentives to lofty conduct but to bestir themselves with vigorous and honest purpose to the task of establishing the requisite secular conditions and organisations. Then would our spiritual revival be assured and abundant.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Let me conclude by conveying to you and the Mysore University the greetings of the Andhra University and wishing the graduates assembled here useful and happy careers.

POEMS OF INDIA

(SECOND GROUP)

I. *The Hindu Bride*

Yesterday, I played with my coloured toys,
A child, laughing with children in the sun ;
But they say that I am a woman now
And must wed and learn a woman's joys.
Soon must I leave my father and mother—
(They have given me jewels, and a *Sari*
Of silk, and perfumes of sandal-wood paste—)
To go live in the home of another.
His hut of palm-thatch is ready for me,
And chains of marigold entwine his door ;
His brass pots are all polished and shining,
The wedding-feast waits for the bride-to-be.
My stranger bridegroom is drawing near,
(Hark to the drums and the flute-songs coming !)
Lord of fortune, *Sri Ganesh*, hear my prayer
Grant joy to me, for I tremble with fear !
I am but a little maiden, who played
But yesterday so joyously with toys,
Timid and young and ignorant of love,
Kama guide me, for I am sore dismayed !

II. *Lullaby*

Chota baba, could I keep thee
Ever thus within my arms,
I would shelter thee, my birdling,
From the world and its alarms.

But alas, my jasmine-flower,
 Thou must blossom in the sun
 And be gathered by a stranger;
 Ere thy womanhood's begun.
Krishna smile on thee, Beloved,
 Keep thee innocent and fair,
 Grant thy beauty still may blossom,
 And thy heart know not despair.
 For the sun of India withers
 All too soon such blooms as thou,
 I would keep thee ever safely,
 If my Gods would show me how.

III. *Contentment*

A mud and palm-thatched hut beside a lotus-pool
 Where tall palms lean ; a truant breeze that wanders by
 And brings the breath of fragrant blossoms on the air ;
 A woman and a cooking-pot, and promises
 Of curry spiced and hot ; a man at ease tapping
 A drum and singing bits of song ; brown naked babies
 About his feet, laughing with glee at a monkey
 That sits on the roof of the hut with the gourd-vines ;
 A mongrel dog or two ; a bullock munching food—
 Reward of honest toil in paddy-fields, compose
 A little world, full and complete, with all that life
 Can give of riches, love, content and happiness.

IV. *Lament*

There he lies, my man, all silent
 On the *charpai* where he wooed me
 In the moonlight, singing songs
 Of *Krishna* and his many loves ;

Where he played upon his reed-flute,
Beating rhythms on his drum,
Or slept so quietly 'til dawn
Called him to work in paddy-fields
And labour through the hours of sun.
Nevermore will I hear his voice,
Never see his stalwart form
Coming home to us at sun-set
When the toil of day is done.
Never will our children hear him
Laughing, merrily and free.
On the *charpai* where he wooed me,
Goes he now forth silently
To the burning-ghat at evening
On that last reluctant journey.
As the flames that light his pyre
Burn to ashes all his body,
So the fire of death consumes me,
And my heart turns ashes too.

V. *Funeral Procession*

Beat of hand-drums, hollow clash of cymbals
And the minor cadences of flutes, mark
The rhythm of slow feet going towards the
Burning-ghat. Four men hold aloft a bier
Where lies a body stark beneath its cloth
Of mocking red ; the mourning wail falls on
The unresponsive air ; scents of fading
Flowers, and dusty pall that settles down
Again on the white road, follows the small
Procession. Soon they will reach the river's
Edge, and on a pyre will lie a silent
Form consumed with flames, whose ashes will be

Tossed into the waters of the brown and
Heedless river where yesterday the dead
Was living flesh, and bathed, or poled a boat,
Singing and drifting with the tide as he
Gathered the gleaming fish. To-day he goes
To join the silt on the river-bottom.

VI. *Song of the Burning-Ghat*

Laugh in the sun, my children,
Play as fleet the hours away ;
Sing your little songs, my children,
I wait for you at the end of day.

Love your little loves, my children,
Flowers fade and smiles turn tears ;
Live your little lives, my children,
You'll come to me, ere many years !

Work and play to-day, my children,
Play upon your little flute ;
Sing your songs to-day, my children,
On my still breast all lips are mute !

Rajahs, coolies, caste and outcast,
Young and old, the bonē and free,
Meet no favour at the loṅg last
When they come to rest with me !

LILY S. ANDERSON

CATEGORIES OF SOCIETAL SPECULATION IN EUR-AMERICA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ECONOMICS AND POLITICS.

FROM HERDER TO SOROKIN (1776-1926),

CHAPTER III

THE BIRTH OF MODERN SOCIOLOGY (1870-1905).

(a) *General Theories of Progress*

Ideology: (1) Sociology is established as an independent science ; (2) impact of biology, anthropology, eugenics, psychology and criminology on political categories ; (3) the dogma of "white man's burden" and of "colonialism" ; (4) chauvinistic messages of "Orientalists."

1870. **Maine** (1822-1888) : *Ancient Law, Early History of Institutions* (1875), *Village Communities* (1876). Patriarchal organization is the earliest form in social life. Progress consists in change from status to contract. His investigations bearing on comparative anthropology and historical jurisprudence combat the "general will" of **Rousseau** and the "utility" of the analytical jurists. He is too cautious regarding democratic slogans.

1875-78. **Schaeffle** : *Bau und Leben des sozialen Koerpers* (Structure and Life of the Social Body). He develops the analogy between human and animal societies. To him the family is the social unit. He considers "social legislation" to be a necessity and he is an inspirer of **Bismarck** in "state socialism." Society is not a higher organism but different from animal and vegetable organisms. The same laws however govern them all. The state represents the central organs of social will and power. Neither absolute centralization nor absolute decentralization is the normal political condition,

Hierarchy of offices and representative bodies is inevitable. The goal of political evolution is democracy.

1876-78. **Lombroso**, Italian : *L'Uomo delinquente* (The Criminal Man) ; **Ferri** : *Sociologie Criminelle* (Criminal Sociology) 1881. **Garofalo** : *La Criminologie* (Criminology), 1885.

Their investigations establish the "positive" as contrasted with the "metaphysical" school of criminology. This school, also known as the Italian school, has made of criminology a "science of positive observation, which supporting itself upon anthropology, psychology, criminal statistics, as upon penal law and penological studies becomes the synthetic science which I myself have called criminal sociology," as says **Ferri**. Positive criminology propose to bring into the science of offences the life-giving breath of the latest discoveries made by the science of man, revived by the doctrines of evolutionism, the researches of Darwin on the variations obtained in the raising of domestic animals and the observations made by Haeckel in embryology.

This new school—evolutionist, scientific, exact, naturalistic—attempts to revolt against the classical school. The most representative exposition of that school is to be found in *Dei delitti e delle pene* (Crimes and Punishments) 1764, by the Italian philosopher **Beccaria** (1735-1794), whom **Tarde** in *La Philosophie Penale* (1890) describes as a "child of our (French) eighteenth century" and in whom are reflected and concentrated all its sentimental philanthropy, unaffected optimism and excessive individualism, and humanitarian enthusiasm. Beccaria's ideology, *a priori* as it is, formulates two doctrines : (1) man's will is free, and (2) man is born good and becomes criminal under circumstances, but may be corrected. In this philosophy the treatment of the criminal is to be determined by the crime committed and not by the nature of the criminal.

According to the positivists, on the contrary, the delinquent is not a man of some description at all but a physiological as well as a psychological anomaly of human nature. And as for the offence it is a natural and necessary phenomenon

which has its physical, anthropological and social causes and cannot be neutralized except to a very slight extent by the fear of punishment, however severe it may be. The "positive" school is thus consciously pessimistic. Education, says Lombroso in *Crime : Its Causes and Remedies*, ought not to be extended to inmates of prisons. Elementary education is positively harmful as applied to the ordinary criminal ; it places in his hands an additional weapon for carrying on his crimes and makes a recedivist of him. The introduction of schools into the prison explains the great number of educated recedivists. To instruct the criminal means to perfect him in evil.

Many of the fundamental doctrines of the positive school have been challenged by Tarde, Aschaffenburg, Parmelee and others, who, however, generally agree with it in denouncing the free will postulate of the Beccaria, the Rousseau and Adam Smith, so to say, of their science.

1876. **Spencer** (1820-1903) : *Principles of Sociology, The Man vs. The State* (1884). He presents a most elaborate formulation of the "organismic" theory of the society and state. The state is an organism with limited functions : war and contract. The industrial state, the state of contract, will replace the war-state. Natural rights, individual freedom, limitation of authority furnish the ultimate goal of evolution. "Specialized administration," the one function of the state, would consist in negative regulation, *i.e.*, doing hardly anything.

1877. **Morgan**, American : *Ancient Society*. He combats **Maine's** thesis *re* patriarchal origin. According to him primitive social organization is marked by chaotic sexual promiscuity. "Group-marriage" develops into the "clan" with its matriarchy. The "gens" with patriarchy represents the next stage. The village community and the family appear later. Finally, the territorial state arises to assimilate the "outsiders" (non-tribesmen). He establishes a unilinear evolutionary anthropology—the deterministic anthropology with its inevitable cultural stages. ✓

1883. **Gumpłowicz** (1838-1909) : *Der Rassenkampf* (Struggle of Races). He studies the relation of groups and laws of group-action. In his analysis society creates the individual. The state of nature is a state of war. Progress is achieved through group-conflicts. All government is the rule of a minority representing the leaders in wars of conquest over the majority, the conquered. The origin of the middle class is due to trade and industry. All-trade is a mode of exploitation. There is no progress and there is nothing essentially new in the realm of mental knowledge. Our cognitions respecting virtue, custom, happiness, etc., are no more mature than those of the oldest peoples of antiquity. Sociology lays the foundation for the morals reasonable resignation. Fundamental pessimism is the keynote of his thought. Compare and contrast **Oppenheimer**, 1914.

1884. **Engels** (1820-95) : *Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigentums und des Staates* (Origin of Family, Private Property and State). He furnishes the "economic interpretation" of the anthropological material furnished by **Morgan** in *Ancient Society* (1877). This book exhibits the application of the "laws of stages" to the data of Greek, Roman, Celtic and Teutonic "pre-history." It is almost a joint work of **Marx** and **Engels**.¹

1886. **Wundt** (1832-1920) : *Ethik*. The psychical world is continually growing and is characterized by a creative synthesis. Acts of the will go beyond original impulses and create "new values." Hence the objective world of morality is manifest in the social evolution from primitive to developed forms. According to him there is no such thing as the "folk-soul" or "social mind" apart from the minds of the individuals in the group.²

Merz's *History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, Vol. IV ("Of the good" and "Of society").

¹ Available in Bengali as *Parivar Gosthi o Rastra* (Sarkar), Calcutta 1926.

² Hall : *Founders of Modern Psychology* (Zeller, Lotze, Fechner, Hartmann, Helmholtz Wundt).

1886. **Toennies**: *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (Community and Society). He distinguishes between two opposite types or forms of groups, namely, "society" and "community." His interpretation of industrial revolution, capitalism, urbanization, etc., is **Marxian** but is marked by an appreciation of medieval, pre-industrial rural life. He is influenced by **Gierke** in regard to pro-medievalism, but exhibits antipathy to Gierke's guilds and other medieval corporations, because these "group-persons" are "artificial." He has appreciation only for "natural" group-persons. Natural vs. artificial groups are "communities" vs. "societies." Community is private, personal, intimate, whereas society is public, external, business-like. "Society" is the product of egoism as embodied in Roman law or of individualism and freedom of competition as characteristic of *Smithianism* or classical economics. According to Toennies the state is the institution of the dominant "social" class. As every *Kultur* (culture) degenerates into "civilisation" (cf. **Spengler's** *Der Untergang des Abendlandes*, Decline of the West, 1920), so also does community into society in all ages.³

1886. **Fouillee** (1838-1912): *La science sociale contemporaine* (Contemporary social science). Society is a contractual organism. Physiologically every individual is a society and every society an individual. Society is higher than natural organism because men can will the whole of which they form parts, the state in which they live. Society does not possess psychological individuality. There is no social self-consciousness. The individual is the only *psyche*, i.e., subject of society. The biological view of society is one-sided. Ideas are active or propelling forces (*Idees-forces*).

1886-1889. **De Greef** (1842-), Belgian: *Introduction a la sociologie* (Introduction to Sociology). • Progress is achieved

³ For Simmel, Toennies, Vierkandt and Weber see Rumpf: "von rein-formaler zur typologisch-empirischer Soziologie" (From purely formal to typologico-empirical sociology) in *Schollers Jahrbuch*, Leipzig, 1924.

through consent and contractual relations. States advance from the stage of despotic authority to voluntary contract. Voluntary consent replaces force and physical conflict. He is interested in the promotion of international relations and elimination of war, and believes in world federation. The doctrine of absolute sovereignty is incompatible with international interdependence, treaties and conventions. The social frontiers are the resultants of a continual but changing equilibration between the internal molecular composition of each social group on the one hand, and of the external and equally molecular composition of the groups, on the other. A reciprocal limitation is manifest in the inter-group equilibrium.⁴ /

1886. **Tarde** (1843-1904): *La criminalite comparee* (1886), *La philosophie penale* (1890), *Les lois de l'imitation* (1890). Every individual is under social control or coercion, but the "social" consists in the inter-cerebral realation of *two* individuals. He establishes the laws of imitation, opposition and adaptation. Progress is brought about by inventions and their imitation (expansion and diffusion). On the subject of crime and war Tarde's ideas are noteworthy. He says that war exerts a moral influence and tends to diminish crime. "An army is a gigantic means of carrying out, by massacre and pillage on a vast scale, the collective designs of hatred, vengeance, envy which one nation stirs up against another. Condemned under their individual form, these odious passions, cruelty and greed, seem to be praiseworthy under their collective form."

He discovers crime in all professions. From the out and out criminal to the most honest merchant we pass through a series of transitions,—the cheating tradesman, the adulterating grocer, etc. Among the upper classes people reputed to be honest are committing extortions and making doubtful bargains.⁵

⁴ Barnes: *Sociology and Political Theory*, New York, 1924.

⁵ Tarde's works are available in English as follows:—*Laws of Imitation* (transl. Parsons), New York, 1903; *Social Laws* (transl. Warren), New York, 1907; *Penal Philosophy* (transl. Howell), Boston, 1912.

1889. **Galton** (1822-1911): *Natural Inheritance, Hereditary Genius* (1869), *Inquiries into Human Faculty* (1883). His work is characterised by the application of statistical method to biological data. He finds that human nature is very flexible and varies according to classes and epochs. Heredity is a powerful factor in these human variabilities. As eugenicist, he establishes the "selective" part played by organic traits. He believes in the possibility of "improving the human breed." He is a founder (*cf.* **Weismann**) of the theory of "germinal continuity,"—like begetting like,—because of the persistence of a specific organization. He advocates the segregation and intermarriage of the intellectuals, and suggests late marriage in the case of the weak and early marriage in the case of the strong. The world belongs to the race that marries at twenty-two instead of at thirty-three. He makes propaganda for "birth control" in the sense of increasing the better types and decreasing the worse.

1889. **Coggetti de Martiis**, Italian: *Socialismo Antico* (Ancient Socialism), to a certain extent supplement to *Le Forme primitive nella evoluzione economica* (Primitive forms in economic evolution, 1881.) He is interested in the economic interpretation of anthropological phenomena (on the lines more or less of **Engels's** *Family, Property and State*). The present work is a comparative study of social utopias in Greece, Rome, Persia, China and India and exhibits the democratic and fraternal ideas in Buddhism and Vaishnavism.⁶

1893. **Ward** (1841-1913), American: *Psychic Factors of Civilisation, Dynamic Sociology* (1883). He is a statalist, and believe in the magic of education and scientific knowledge. In his works we are presented with the demonstration of the paramount necessity for the equal and universal distribution of the extant knowledge of the world. The environment transforms the animal, while man transforms the environment.

⁶ Sarkar: "Hindu Politics in Italian" in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1925-1926.

1893. **Novicow** (1849-1912), Russian: *Les luttes entre sociétés humaines : et leurs phases successives* (Conflicts between human societies and their successive phases), *La fédération de l'Europe* (1901). War is not a biological necessity (as maintained by **Gumpłowicz**). The Darwinian struggle for existence for the survival of the fittest does not hold good in human relations. He is a prophet of pacifism and internationalism and preaches the cultural autonomy for national groups, political federation of the European states and abolition of war. The European national state represses subject nationalities. The claim of the state to absolute and unlimited sovereignty is an obstacle to effective international organization. The state should function as a collective policeman. He is a champion of individualism—almost Spencerian,—verging on anarchism.

1895. **Durkheim** (1858-1917): *Les règles de la méthode sociologique* (Rules of Sociological Method), *De la division du travail social* (Division of social labour), 1893. Social homogeneity precedes heterogeneity and creates it because of (i) the struggle for existence, and (ii) the division of labour. At first there is no individual but a common consciousness, social representations and institutions dominating the individual. He propounds the idea of professional groups or associations. In his criminology intensity of punishment increases according as the society is less elevated and as the central power is more absolute. Restraint on personal liberty (i.e., imprisonment) for varying periods according to the gravity of the crime is becoming the normal type of punishment.

1896. **Le Bon** (1841—): *Le Psychologie des foules* (The Psychology of the Crowd), *La Psychologie politique et la défense nationale* (Political Psychology and National Defence), 1910.

Our conscious acts are the outcome of an unconscious substratum created in the mind in the main by hereditary influences, says he. The greater part of our daily actions are the results

of hidden motives which escape our observation. The individual forming part of a *foule* (crowd or group) differs from the isolated individual. He is no longer himself but has become an automaton who has ceased to be guided by his will. Merely numerical considerations, contagion of a hypnotic order, and suggestibility of which contagion is an effect are the three factors that operate in this transformation. Isolated, the individual may be a cultivated person; but in the *foule* he is a barbarian, a creature acting by instinct. The mind of the *foule* is identical with that of primitive man. A lower standard of intelligence and truth is the one followed by the crowd. It behaves as an obedient herd and would submit to anybody who appoints himself its master.

1896. **Lapouge**: *Les Selections Sociales* (Social Selections). He is opposed to "social legislation" as a *pucca* eugenicist. Aryanism is his race-cult.

1896. **Westermarck** (1862-): *History of Human Marriage*. He opposes **Morgan's** hypothesis of primitive sexual promiscuity and believes that the clan or gens comes later than the family in social evolution.

1896. **Giddings** (1855-): *Principles of Sociology, Democracy and Empire* (1900). He exhibits the biological evolution of social will. "Consciousness of kind" is the leading subjective item in the human constitution. He is one of the imperialists of America. "Unless the whole course of history is meaningless for the future there is to be no cessation of war—of extra-group competition—until vast empires embrace all nations." This is his verdict. Only where the democratic empire has compassed the uttermost parts of the world will there be that perfect understanding among men which is necessary for the growth of moral kinship.

1898. **Kidd** (1858-1916): *Control of the Tropics, Social Evolution* (1894). Imperialism and colonial expansion are the means of propagating "higher culture." "If we

look to the native social systems of the tropical East, the primitive savagery of Central Africa, to the West Indian Islands in the past in process of being assisted into the position of modern states by Great Britain, or the black republic of Hyati in the present, or to modern Liberia in the future, the lesson everywhere seems the same: "it is that there will be no development of the resources of the tropics under native government."

1898. **Ratzenhofer** (1842-1904): *Die sociologische Erkenntniss* (Sociological Knowledge), *Sociologie* (published posthumously 1908). Like **Gumplowicz** Ratzenhofer believes in the struggle of races as underlying the origin of society. Like G. again, he considers the process of the cross-fertilization of cultures to consist in: (1) the subjugation of one race by another, (2) the origin of caste, (3) the gradual mitigation of this condition leaving a state of great individual, social and political inequality, (4) substitution for purely military subjugation a form of law, (5) origin of the state under which all classes have both rights and duties, (6) the cementing of the mass of heterogeneous elements into a more or less homogeneous people, and (7) the rise of the sentiment of patriotism and formation of a nation. He does not, like G., take a special interest in the relations between groups. To him the chief theme is the group-making process, the essence of group-solidarity. He studies more the reciprocal relations of human beings than as G. does the inter-group phenomena. He is interested not so much in ethnology like G. as in biological and psychological data. The origin of all inter-relations is to be found in the "blood-bond." Absolute hostility is the psychical guardian over the continuance of a community of interests. The state originates in subjugation by rulers. Propagation, sustentation and exploitation are the causes; war, culture and commerce the means, and harmonious satisfaction of interests the end of social development. The *Urkraft* (original energy) in the creative process is a psychic entity known as "interests."

These interests are racial, physiological, individual, social and transcendental. He considers the individual to be more important than the group.⁷

1904. **Ross** (1866-), American: *Social Control*. Social psychology deals with the psychic interplay between man and his environing society. Social ascendancy consists in domination of the individual by the society. Individual ascendancy implies the reverse and involves invention, leadership, rôle of great men, etc. Social ascendancy may be (a) mere social influence implied in custom, public opinion, fashion, mob mind, etc., or (b) social control, *i.e.*, the conscious and deliberate transformation of individual by the society. Ross analyzes the extent to which order is the making of individual personality and discusses also the contributions of the social surroundings to the same product. "Suggestion, education and publicity, the choice instruments of the new *folk-craft* will be used in the future perhaps even more freely and consciously than they now are." Kinship has lost its old secret significance. Social erosion has worn down the family. Everywhere we see the local group, the parish, the commune, the neighbourhood or village decaying. The better adaptation of men to one another is brought about by the improvement of the apparatus of social control. The goal of social development is better adaptation.

(b) *Racial Dogmatism*

1883. **Seeley**: *Expansion of England*. The exposition is chauvinistic.

1890. **Burgess**: *Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law*. He is an American expansionist.

1895. **Ammon**: *Die Gesellschaftsordnung und ihre natuerliche Grundlagen* (Social order and its natural foundations).

⁷ Ward: *Pure Sociology*, New York, 1908. Jacobs: *German Sociology*, New York, 1909. Lichtenberger: *Development of Social Theory*, London, 1924.

The concentration of dolichocephals (long-heads) in the city is one of his laws.

1899. **Chamberlain** (English-born, domiciled in Germany): *Grundlagen des 19. Jahrhundertz.* (Foundations of the Nineteenth Century). Teutonism is his race-cult.

1900. **Cramb**: *Origins and Destiny of Imperial Britain* is another chauvinistic contribution to historical literature.

1901. **Sergi** (1841-): *The Mediterranean Race* demolishes the doctrine of the so-called Aryan races.⁸

(c) *East and West*

1870-76. **Maine** (1822-1888): *Ancient Law, Early History of Institutions* (1875), *Village Communities* (1876). All Oriental communities have been despotisms, and the commands of the despots at their head, harsh and cruel as they might be, have always been implicitly obeyed. These commands, save in so far as they served to organise administrative machinery for the collection of revenue, have not been true laws. The one solvent of local and domestic usage has not been the command of the sovereign but the supposed command of the deity.

1880. **Janet**: *Histoire de la science politique*. The Orient in general and India in particular never realized the idea of the state. The state appears for the first time in Europe and on Greek soil.

✓ 1883. **Max Mueller**: *India what can it Teach Us?* This book is a Bible of chauvinism and race-dogmatism to all those Westerns who for one reason or another have to take interest in India and the East. In it is concentrated the conventional philosophy of civilisation that the logic of the "white man's burden" has found it reasonable to propagate through philologists and mythologists. He is to a great extent responsible for the absurdities and non-sensical ideas that have become

⁸ See the summaries of Ammon, Chamberlain and other race chauvinists in Hankins's *Racial Basis of Civilization*, New York, 1926.

ingrained in the consciousness of Orientalists and, through them, of sociologists, culture-historians, philosophers and statesmen in regard to the alleged absence of manly, energistic, rationalizing, political, and economic features in Hindu civilisation and history. His work has helped *orientalisme*, indology and the study of things Asian to function as a handmaid to the purposes of Western colonialists and Empire-builders in the East—by furnishing them with a gospel as to the alleged disqualifications of the Orientals (Indians) for economic energism and political self-assertion.

He expatiates on quietism, pacifism, etc., as the exclusive and dominant characteristics of India and on that basis makes out a distinction between the Indian and European types of civilization, thus: “At first sight we may feel inclined to call this quiet enjoyment of life, this mere looking on, a degeneracy rather than a growth. It seems so different from what *we* think life ought to be. Yet from a higher point of view it may appear that these Southern Aryans have chosen *the good part, or at least the part good for them*, while we Northern Aryans have been careful and troubled about many things.” He suggests a hemispherical classification of race-characteristics: “It is at all events a problem worth considering whether, as there is in nature a south and a north, there are not two hemispheres also in human nature,—both worth developing,—the active, combative and political on one side, the passive, meditative and philosophical on the other; and for the solution of that problem no literature furnishes such ample materials as that of the Veda, beginning with the hymns and ending with the Upanishads. We enter into a new world—*not always an attractive one, least of all to us. We are not called upon either to admire or to despise that ancient Vedic literature*; we have simply to study and to try to understand it.” (*Italics ours.*)

Secular virtues, materialistic joys and economic enterprises are considered by him to be the monopoly of the Europeans and he manages to discover the exact opposite among the Hindus.

Thus, "we all lead a fighting life; our highest ideal of life is a fighting life. We point with inward satisfaction to what we and our ancestors have achieved by hard work, in founding a family, or a business, a town or a state. We imagine we have made life on earth quite perfect. But the lesson which both Brahmans and Buddhists are never tired of teaching is that this life is but a journey from one village to another—and not a resting place."

He harps on the influences of climate on race-character and ignores the objective historical data while instituting comparison between ancient India and ancient Europe,—in fact he forgets the ancient and medieval conditions of Europe altogether and places India in a wrong sociological and cultural perspective by comparing it with "modern" Europe.

"If we turn our eyes to the East, and particularly to India, where life is, or at all events was, no very severe struggle, where the climate was mild, the soil fertile, where vegetable food in small quantities sufficed to keep the body in health and strength, where the simplest hut or cave in a forest was all the shelter required, and where social life never assumed the gigantic, monstrous proportions of a London or Paris, but fulfilled itself within the narrow boundaries of village communities—was it not, I say, natural there, or if you like, was it not *intended* there that another side of human nature should be developed—not the active, the combative, acquisitive, but the passive, the meditative and reflective?"⁹

1893. **Flint:** *History of the Philosophy of History.* The idea of progress is unknown in the Orient. The idea of humanity is undeveloped in Indian thought except in Buddhism. ✓

⁹ A challenge to this position on all fronts is offered in Sarkar's *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, Vol. I (Allahabad, 1914) and other writings down to *The Futurism of Young Asia* (Leipzig, 1922) which condemn the climatological, regionalistic, raciologial, and other such monistic and deterministic "interpretations" of civilization as erroneous in objective history and misleading in comparative chronology.

(d) *Mental and Moral Personality*

Ideology : (1) Neo-Hegelianism and Neo-Kantianism, (2) virtually a reproduction, under British and "modern" conditions, of the German standpoints of a generation ago, so far as political ideals are concerned.

1876. **Bradley** : *Ethical Studies* : "My station and its Duties" (cf. Hindu *swa-dharma* and Plato's "virtues"). The individual's self-realization is conceivable only in and through the social relations. His "station" in the state is the summation of his relations. The individual achieves his greatest growth when he fulfils his station in the state well.

1877-1889. **Caird's** : Works on Kant. Promote an "idealistic" atmosphere in British Philosophical Circles.

1879-80. **Green** (1836-82) : *Principles of Political Obligation*, *The English Commonwealth*, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, *Liberal Legislation and Freedom of Contract* (1881), *Introduction to Hume's Treatise of Human Nature* (1874),—in which the philosophies of Kant and Hegel are discussed. He is an exponent of individualism (Kantian). State intervention is to be an exception but to be admitted by all means (Mill). He is Rousseauesque in the conception of general will. War is not always right and is to be avoided. Compulsory education is to be enforced by the state. He defends the institution of property and inequality in wealth but desires a class of small proprietors tilling their own land. He would not admit the appropriation of "unearned increment" by the state. He believes in the manner of Gierke that the groups have certain inherent rights. Unlike Bosanquet he considers the state to be a member of the "universal brotherhood"—the larger group. His touchstone of liberty consists in the "removal of all obstructions to the free development of English citizens." Though the dream of an international court with authority resting on the consent of independent states is very far from realisation it is important to bear in mind that there is nothing

in the intrinsic nature of a system of independent states incompatible with it, but that on the contrary every advance in the organisation of mankind in states in the sense explained is a step towards it.¹⁰

1885. **Nietzsche** (1844-1900): *Als sprach Zarathustra* (Thus spake Zarathustra), *Goettdaemmerung* (Twilight of the Idols), 1888, *Der Antichrist* (Anti-Christ), 1888.

"I am not narrow enough for a system—and not ever for my system." "Everything goes, everything returns, eternally does the wheel of being roll. Everything dies, everything blossoms again, eternally does the year of being run its course. Everything breaks, everything is put together again, eternally does the house of being build itself anew. All things separate, all things greet one another again, eternally is the sway of being true."

"Beyond the ruling class loosed from all bonds live the highest men; and in the rulers they have their instruments."

"If things went according to my will it would be time to declare war on European morality and all that has grown out of it. We must demolish Europe's existing order of peoples and states."

"Also in the things of mind I wish war and oppositions; and more war than ever, more oppositions than ever."

"Everywhere, where slave mortality gets the upper hand language shows an inclination to bring the words 'good' and 'stupid' near together."

Nietzsche considers the Hindu **Manu** to be the propounder of an affirmative religion, the religion of the deification of power as contrasted with Christianity, the creed of the slave, the pariah, the chandala (*Will to Power*).

"The Law book of Manu is replete with noble values," says he, "it is filled with a filling of perfection, with a saying

¹⁰ See The Memoir of Green in Nettleship's *Works of T. H. Green*, Vol. III, London, 1900.

of yea to life. The sun shines upon the whole book. All those things which Christianity smothers with its bottomless vulgarity,—procreation, woman, marriage,—are here treated with earnestness, with reverence, with love and confidence.”

“Manu’s words again are simple and dignified; virtue could hardly rely on her own strength alone. Really, it is only the fear of punishment that keeps men in their limits and leaves every one in peaceful possession of his own.”

“Further, what Manu says is probably truer: we must conceive of all the states on our own frontier and their allies as being hostile and for the same reason we must consider all of their neighbours as being friendly to us.”

1899. **Bosanquet** (-1923): *Philosophical Theory of the State*. In his conception the individual is absorbed in the state. He is 100 per cent. Hegelian. The state is not bound by ordinary ethics. The real will of each citizen is alone expressive of his true individuality. Now the real will is identical with the collective will. And since the general will is best realised in the state, obedience to the state is self-imposed and therefore free. “The state has no determinate function in a larger community, but is itself the supreme community, the guardian of a whole moral world.” Hence no moral obligations to other states (contrast Green, *supra*). “The state is a complete idea of the realization of all human capacity” (see Hobhouse’s attack in *The Metaphysical Theory of the State*, 1918). Altogether, Green is to Bosanquet what **Kant** is to Hegel.

LIFE OF THE CELEBRATED SEVAGY

CHAPTER IX

The Great Mogol sends a stronger force against Sevagy.

The Governor of Surrate reported the above-mentioned incident to the great Mogol in a manner that when it was read and heard it seemed worse than it (actually) was. As the income of the Great Mogol derived from Surrate was excessive and the Governor had informed him that all was lost and the merchants were arranging for a change of place on account of the scant security of Surrate, he resolved to remedy everything by sending an army that would totally destroy Sevagy and detain the merchants. He ordered the remission of taxes for three years during which period nothing should be paid for import or export. This appeased and relieved all, for it was a very great favour [81] as the capital employed by those Gentios in trade is enormous. The wealth of these people is so great that when the Great Mogol sent for a loan of four millions to Baneane Duracandas Vorax he answered that His Majesty should name the coin, and the sum will immediately be paid in it. There are in Surrate the following coins: rupias, half and quarter (rupias) of gold, the same of silver. There are pagodes of gold and larins of silver and in all of these eight (coins) he offered to render and count four millions. What is still more surprising is that the major part of the Baneane's capital was (invested) at Surrate and this offer was made four years after the sack by Sevagy. Such was the accumulation and so considerable was the profit of those three years when no tax was paid. The Mogol usually repays these loans in the taxes and it is done with such punctuality that he gets for the mere asking whatever sums he wants, for the subjects deliver their purses in accordance with the degree of satisfaction that they get from the kings. As to

the restoration of his power, it was necessary to oust Sevagy; as the two Generals excused themselves at [82] each other's (expense) the great Mogol ordered the retreat of the 180 thousand cavalry,—Sextaghan with his eighty and Jassomptissinga with his hundred were to return to the Court by different routes to avoid their differences. And to send a good natured commander to redeem his credit and to remedy the weakness and troubles of the past, he selected another King of the Rayaputos. He was also so powerful that from his own territories he could put into the field two hundred and fifty thousand cavalry. Besides all these, for reasons already explained, he had held from the Mogol a Jaguir for (an army of) seven thousand horse with which he was obliged to serve him. He was, moreover, the owner of that famous elephant called the Conqueror of Battles (*vencedor das batalhas*), for he defeated the valiant elephant of Daráxaëur, the eldest brother of the Mogol, to whom that battle gave the Crown and the Elephant gave the victory (that battle gave him the Crown and this Elephant won the victory for him). As this King was a great friend of his, he had on that occasion helped him with his person and with the above-mentioned elephant. This new General was called Magha Mirca Raya Jassinga but to save paper we shall always call him by the name of [83] Raya. He immediately set out furnished with four hundred thousand cavalry. When he arrived at Amadabad he sent to the two Generals the letters he brought from the Mogol for their departure and as soon as he learnt of their departure he moved forward to encamp at Punadar where Sevagy had sheltered himself. When he arrived there Sevagy could not help being frightened, for besides the four hundred thousand cavalry the number of men and animals that followed these armies can neither be credited nor ascertained. There went with it five hundred elephants, three million camels, two million oxen of burden, men of useless service and merchants without number. The first thing that Sevagy did was to tempt this General in the same way as he had done in the case of the

other. He sent him a large and very valuable present desiring his friendship. The Raya refused both and ordered to inform Sevagy that he had not come to receive his presents but to subdue him, and if he yielded in peace he would avoid many deaths, or he would make him yield by force. This resolution [84] perturbed Sevagy, for the General had not begun well for him, as the General soon showed him, for he immediately sent many men to occupy the whole of the northern slope of the hill, the only convenient part, all the rest being inaccessible. Here they entrenched themselves to be able to stay in, for the peril outside was great; with much toil they dug one trench after another towards the hill until through a number of them they arrived at the foot of the hill which rose straight above and where there was no room for trenches. There they stopped and informed the Raya how it was impossible to advance. He had brought with him a French engineer who assumed in these regions the title of the Coque of the Dutch. On this occasion the General ordered him to devise some subtle contrivance by his art. He directed that some strong and big bamboo ladders should be made. These ladders should be fixed at that place and chained with one another. At the place where they would reach by these means, they should dig an opening big enough to hold a large quantity of powder, for he wanted by means of that mine [85] to blow the mountain. But Sevagy did not wait for that eventuality and had already ordered to countermine, and when the mine was discovered, in order to avoid the delay of removing such a quantity of powder, he threw so much water into it that it was reduced to wet coal. The Raya had been already invited to see the explosion of the hill, but the occurrence expected by them became (a subject of) laughter and ridicule of the besieged.

They spoke of batteries, for the Raya had brought with him very heavy artilleries of such a calibre that each cannon was drawn by forty yokes of oxen, but they were of no use, for bombarding a fortress of this kind; it was not a handiwork

of men but of the author of nature (God) and also had foundations so (strongly) laid and fortified that they laughed at balls, wind and even the thunder bolts. The plain at the top where the men resided with the stars was more than half a league in breadth, provided with food for many years and the most copious water that after regaling men was precipitated through the hill to fertilise the plants with which it was [86] covered. Therefore neither the beseiged feared nor the besiegers expected that with all these advantages Sevagy would do something still more daring than self defence demanded. The following chapter will relate everything.

CHAPTER X

Sevagy surrenders, and what happens afterwards.

The King Idalcao was a feudatory of the Great Mogol and paid him annually two millions Tipiquin Pagodes, each of which is worth three rupias being much smaller than that of Golconda which is worth five rupias. Besides this large tribute, the King was obliged to help the army, which the Mogol might send to the Decan, with ten thousand horse at his own cost to serve under the command of the Mogol general. In fact the King had assisted Sextaghan with the stipulated cavalry and was now (likewise) rendering assistance to the Raya. Before the arrival of this army against Sevagy, the King, however, had come to a settlement [87] that he would pay him thirty thousand pagodes every year as contribution to expenses, in return for which Sevagy should remain contented with what he had conquered from his kingdom and should not disturb his state but wage war against the Great Mogol only. Sevagy loyally observed these terms, for he was a man noted for his adherence to treaties. But as soon as Idalcao found the Mogol armies (in the Decan) he not only helped them with all promptitude but did not pay Sevagy anything. When two years passed without any payment Sevagy surmised (what was) the reason and regarded this conduct so seriously that he resolved to avenge it at any cost. He argued that as the Raya was never guided by self-interest he could not but be very pious and that so long as he could not have him in hand the latter would not cease to give him trouble. This consideration and the impulses of revenge led him to do what might have cost him dear and he went to surrender himself unconditionally to the generous courtesy of the Raya, without any other assurance but the presumption of high valour [88] which was free from ambition

and that his voluntary surrender would completely assure him of an impression on any generous heart. To execute his plan he set out from his famous hill of Punadar at six in the morning with one servant only, both without arms. In this way he entered the encampment and as everything was in the same order he passed through it without being observed by anyone. Then he arrived at the quarters of the Raya always distinguished by the large standard and told the porter that he wanted to speak to his master.

“Who should I say seeks him?”

“Say that Sevagy wants to see him.”

The porter, besides himself with terror, gave four jumps, that roused the other guards; Sevagy himself gave him his hand and heartened him saying that he should not be afraid, for he came in peace and so sought his master. At last, still trembling, and without knowing what he said, he gave the message to his master in such a way that he too was frightened and seizing a scymitar, got up and went out to shelter himself but being assured of what it was, returned to sit down and calmed himself. Then he gave his orders for Sevagy to enter. While this happened the porters came [89] and went. Sevagy took off the sash that encircled his waist and ordered his servant to fasten his hands with it, and in this manner entered the presence of the Raya and the guards who attended on him. The Raya was doubtful of what he saw, doubtful whether it was Sevagy himself who was there, but being assured of the truth by Sevagy himself, remained silent and absorbed, not knowing what to do under the circumstances, but he soon came to a decision as to what that confidence deserved, got up, unfastened his hands himself and, with remarkable affability addressing him as his son, took him by his hands and seated him by his side with all possible demonstrations of extreme affection. They immediately entered into a conversation and the first exchanges of courtesies being over, Sevagy spoke as follows :—

"Great and powerful Raya, the knowledge of your singular generosity and your high lineage led me to decide that such should also be my action ; I wanted that it should be said to your glory that at your feet came Sevagy, to surrender himself voluntarily, impelled by your greatness and nothing else. For this I expect [90] to profit by the opinion I formed of you so that posterity may have nothing to find fault with, either your graciousness or my resolution." The Raya responded, throwing his arms about Sevagy's neck : " Thus far am I from ignoring the confidence you have in my courage (or heart); henceforth you are safe, and I promise not to fail you in any proposal that you may make and so you may go on naming them. I only beg you to attend to the common interest (of the two parties), for you know the obligation this office imposes on me."

To which Sevagy replied interrupting that he had nothing more to propose except begging (the Raya's) confidence in his fidelity and amity and that nothing should excuse their failure therein. For greater security he desired that both of them should swear by Rama and other gods that they should always be friends. As for proposals in regard to the common interest he offered to surrender to the Great Mogol twenty fortresses he had captured, and further to render himself his vassal and accept from him jaguir as he may be pleased to grant. This the Raya could not promise but said [91] that he would intercede for him for the clemency and the employment of Mogol. The Raya desired to be more sure of the fidelity of Sevagy and demanded hostages for what he had promised. Sevagy at once sent his servant who was there with a letter to his son that he should immediately come to the camp. The Raya sent a number of horsemen with the letter to escort him. The next morning he arrived accompanied by a large cavalry and infantry. Sevagy delivered him to the Raya and to please him more advised his son to address him as Grandfather. After delivering his son, Sevagy begged leave to return to fulfil his promise. The Raya gave him the permission, sent with

him those to whom the fortresses were to be delivered in the name of the Great Mogol and Sevagy left with them and the same people who had accompanied his son. He at once delivered the twenty fortresses among which were included the two Punadars, so esteemed by Sevagy, and the Raya ordered them all to be immediately garrisoned and strengthened. This done, Sevagy sought his uncle Neotagy without whose advice he did nothing. Having issued orders in respect of the [92] fortresses and the territories that still remained to him, they both went to see the Raya with such a retinue and treasure that caused the admiration of the Raya and the other captains of the Great Mogol. The Raya received them with marked pleasure and ordered them to lodge in the army. Every day, from morning to evening, Sevagy visited the Raya and they always spent hours together in private. This roused the suspicion of the Mouro cavaliers of the army who were at a loss to understand what was the matter that took so much time. If the Raya had not been so great a lord and so mighty in territories and vassals they might have suspected some conspiracy but they soon learnt the substance of the secrets from their effect. All took the road and the army turned to destroy Idalcao. This was the passionate desire of Sevagy and this forced upon him so blind a resolution that might have cost him his life and state. Sevagy pressed this strongly upon the Raya who raised many objections, one, and a very strong one, being the assistance that the King had rendered to the Mogol armies with his ten thousand horse [93] for so many years and that he was actually still employed in the service. It was a strong reason, but as Sevagy wanted to ruin him on that very ground he lost his patience to hear it, and pressed the Raya with the following representations: the Great Mogol had sent a great man, and as Sevagy had surrendered at the mere echo of his fame, his valour had not been manifested and he should not lose the opportunity of conquering two at one blow and thereby immortalise his name. In short, he told him such things and

the Raya was so much elated with the prospect of fame that would result from the double victory that he was inclined to countenance the plan against the dictates of reason, more so, because he had no doubt about its success, the matter being so easy that nothing seemed wanting and everything possible for the mere wishing. The resolution having been taken the Raya summoned the Council of all the Umbras of the army and communicated to them his purposes and the reasons which prompted him to that course and which would facilitate the enterprise according to what Sevagy had pointed out. Some of them objected to the proposal and that with strong reasons, but as soon as a powerful Umbrao [94], with whom the Raya had contracted fraternity (*feito irmandadi*), voted strongly in its favour all the others changed; they not only did not resist but besides according their approval, offered every help (such is the world everywhere). The Raya was pleased with the opinion of the Council and sent for the Commander of ten thousand horse whom the King (Idalcao), having returned to his capital, had left in his place. He told the captain with great suavity that as Sevagy had been subdued his residence in the army was excused and that he (the commander) might retire and go to the Court of his king whom he should inform to expect him (the Raya), for he was resolved to see him soon at his Capital of Visapur. The commander wanted to know the reason of so sudden a change, asserting that his king had never failed (in his duty) and always acted as the most loyal vassal of the Great Mogol. The Raya replied that such indeed was the fact and what he said was all true but that he remembered having many years ago left his *trunfa* (turban) at Visapur, which never returned to his hand, and that now that he was so near the place [95] he felt a desire to see it, for in any case he wanted to go to seek it. With these words he dismissed the commander who immediately left with his men to inform his king of what had happened.

CHAPTER XI

The army was prepared to set out against Visapur.

After the departure of the commander the Raya gave the order to march, which is made in the following manner; the General takes a larger sheet of paper and writes his name in the middle of it. Then all the Umbraos who are Captains of the army go on writing their names round about it, always leaving the General's name in the centre. His secretary immediately makes another copy similar to it and transmits it to the nearest Umbrao who makes a copy for himself and transmits the copy that had been sent to him to his neighbour who does the same and in this manner it runs through all till it returns to the very hand of the Secretary himself, showing that all have been informed [96] and have got copies. Afterwards in the order of march as well as in fixing quarters each one takes the place that the paper shows without any other change or without any contingency to excuse, each one of these Umbraos carries his banner as in a squadron of ships and each one has a very high mast which is invariably carried on the back of a number of men during the march. On the arrival at the place of encampment they wait till the General hoists his banner and immediately afterwards each one raises his standard in the same order as in the paper and by these banners their quarters are easily recognised, so to visit a captain nothing more is required but to look for his banner and find him. The army follows the Mirmanzel in the march and do not go one step without him. He is always obliged to encamp near a big river, for the ordinary ones do not suffice for the numerous mouths of which the army is composed. He always takes with him three men of equal stature, to whom he gives a cord that has a ring at each end and the cord has the length of a [97] geometrical pace, (a measure of five feet). These men are placed in a line one after another and the first and the last carry the cord with the rings on their shoulder, while the

other goes between them with the cord on his shoulder. The first carries a sharp pointed three pronged fork (*forquilha com hum bom ferrao*) the second a rosary of stringed balls and the third goes always looking at the ground but all three carry the cord stiff. When marching the first man makes a stroke near his foot on the ground crossed and goes on and as soon as the last man sees the mark he shouts "Step," which signifies a pace, and immediately the man in the middle lets fall a ball, the first immediately makes another stroke and the third arriving at the place shouts anew and the second throws another ball and they go on like this till the army encamps. When they arrive there the balls are counted (and it is found out that) so many paces the army has marched. Thirty thousand of paces make a league and in this manner they do not walk without counting. When the counting is over, the Mirmanzel goes to report to the General and according to the greater or lesser length they have marched the Mirmanzel asks for or refrains from asking rest for the army. In short [98] if they observed the same order in battle as in everything else they would have been now the lords of the whole world. If an army is engaged in a campaign for twenty years and a stranger enters it once in the first year and again in the last year he will go through it in the same way and feel sure that it is the same (army he saw 20 years ago) for as they never change (the order of assigned places) the display of banner is enough at the first entry to go through it without any error which is not easy in the armies of Europe, which (error) seems to be great in their midst. We have viewed the march, let us pass to the events. The army had already marched for sixteen days towards the capital of Visapur and the further it penetrated into the territories of that King the greater became the difficulties of transporting provision and much more that of. forage. The Raya left at all the stations (places) many companies to defend those who supplied everything to the army. These men have no other trade or pursuit than buying millions of bullocks for this service in which they

earn great wealth. These are called Vanyares [99], that is to say, men without any country, for their mothers conceive them on the road, bring them forth on the road, and bring them up on the road. When they happen to travel for the lands of the enemies (for hostile territories), ten or twelve thousands of them join together and have with them four, five or six millions of bullocks. They are all very skilled with bow and arrow and also with matchlocks. They resist their adversaries with great valour if they are attacked. After a few days' march, thirty thousand horse of the King of Visapur appeared in the rear of the army not only to desolate the field but also to waylay the Vanyares, eight thousand of whom they encountered accompanied by fifteen hundred Mogols whom the Raya had left for that purpose. They were at once assaulted and a most terrible battle was fought, which lasted from the morning till four in the evening but the Daquinis of Visapur, good soldiers as they are, finished the battle by killing all the Mogols and a great many of the Vanayares and left the rest to follow two thousands of the Vanayares who had taken advantage of the battle and leading three millions of bullocks had gone [100] at a great speed to take shelter with the army which however they could not overtake. The Raya felt this loss very much and the Idalcao felt so highly pleased that he conceded all the spoil, that was great, to his soldiers to encourage them for more and for the cruel war that such a small number waged against an army so vast. They (the Bijapuries) now appeared in the van of the army without any order and the Mogols also immediately closed with them at full gallop without any order and as the land was dry, such an amount of dust was raised that the sun could not be seen. The Daquinis had expected this and divided in three squadrons attacked the army in three places and caused great loss while the dust and confusion lasted and when it became clear and the Mogols recovered themselves the Daquinis were no longer to be found, at least, not in the same place and form as previously. The Mogols grew mad with anger and furiously

turned to assault and the Daquinis always played the same trick and their fun, therefore, was great and the loss they inflicted on the army was very heavy. None should be surprised at the celerity of these [101] Daquinis, for they are accustomed to carry no more baggage than their arms which consist of lances, bow, arrow, long and broad swords, with some bread and grass for their horses. Water and straw are abundantly found in the field. In this fashion they always go unencumbered, they sleep on the ground upon the earth and taking the bridle of the horses, and loosening the reins fasten them with their halters to their own wrists. They cover themselves with a cloth that serves as dress, mattress and wrapper; they live in this manner and are therefore so quick and skilful that cause admiration and all these are quite contrary to (what is found among) the Mogols, for he who does not have with him at least a loaded camel feels very unhappy so that what is necessary to equip a Mogol soldier is sufficient for an army of the light Daquinis. Let us turn to the Mogol army. They marched with great fear for the Daquinis made at all hours and in every place false and real assaults. The Nabobo who commanded the vanguard informs the General of everything that happens and this is done in the following manner: [102] He takes with him for this purpose of information many men all of whom have their dromedaries, these are camels but of such a speed that they seem more to fly than to run. When a message is given, a man mounts his dromedary and runs to the General who is found in the middle of the army among fifty thousand horse that he has for his guards. He is mounted on a big elephant of war with other elephants of war in a circle around him. Outside these are the elephants of state with standards mounted on shafts held securely by many men seated on those very elephants. The messenger comes to the elephant of the General and the courier makes the dromedary sit on the earth and dismounting delivers the message after making his courtesies; after hearing the message and repeating the courtesies he

turns to the dromedary still waiting on its haunches on the ground and returns in a moment to the presence of the Nabobo. To such an extent had the Daquinis lost the fear of the Mogols that they often got themselves mixed with the Mogol army itself, till they found an opportunity of committing some injury. And as soon as [103] the Mogols gave any opportunity, either for exit or disorder, the leaders with their horses retired first, for they are recognised by these (horses) such is the confusion of these armies caused by innumerable multitude and such is the address of the Daquinis owing to their incredible lightness. All this is facilitated by dress and language which are the same or almost so (and differ in nothing). With these troubles and some other misfortunes the Mogol army marched till they reached near Visapur where the Raya had many spies who informed him of everything. The king considered himself lost and after long consultations with his nobles about the means of evading his ruin decided on a method that would be ridiculed in Europe but was efficacious and useful to the superstitions of these Oriental barbarians.

CHAPTER XII

The Mogol Army returns with great haste.

[104] Everybody knows that pork is prohibited for the Mouros. This (rule) is observed among them and they neither eat it nor anything that is contaminated by it. The Hindus practise the same rule about the meat of cows to a greater excess. Not to kill a cow is the third of the five precepts they observe, the first and the second being not to kill the Brahmans (they are their Padres) and the women, which is equally atrocious. The king's remedy was based on this belief. It was to issue an order to the three settlements situated near

his capital at a distance of not more than half a league called Abdulapur, Cottapulur, Nacerapur, each one having a population of twenty-five thousand, or so. He ordered them all to go away with their belongings to any place that seemed most suitable to them. When the people were gone he ordered to throw in all the wells, lakes, cisterns and other reservoirs of water, [105] a quantity of pork and beef cut into pieces. The Raya got immediate information of this through his spies and as there was no more water in that country and the great majority of the army were Gentios and the rest (consisted of) the Mouros they were all so perturbed that the army immediately turned back in such a hurry that on that day they made two days' march. In this retreat the army suffered troubles enough from the sudden assaults made everywhere by the Daquinis and from the excesses of hunger, for the transport of food was impeded. It is a strange thing that surprise attacks could be made on such a powerful army in a country where there was nothing but open fields as far as could be seen ; yet these attacks were made every moment, for the innumerable multitude of animals that follows these armies raises so great, so continuous and such a dreadful (storm of) dust that whole days pass without the sun being seen and on this account assaults were made by day as if it were night. When the army was very near the territories of the Great Mogol one morning, the Daquinis made such a ferocious assault on it [106] with their thirty thousand horse, that the quarter attacked by them was broken, the commander (of that quarter) was killed with many soldiers and they penetrated to the middle of the battle field as far as the station where the Raya commanded, as we have already said, with fifty thousand horse and as he looked from his elephant they engaged in a terrible battle which lasted for two hours in which were killed two thousand Daquinis and twelve thousand Mogols though the latter being in the presence of their general fought with the utmost valour. A Daquini was on the point of hurling a lance at the Raya. At that

instant the Rayaputos hurried to his rescue and saved his life that was in no little danger. A Rayaputo immediately engaged with the daring Daquini, hurled at him a *Barchim*—that is, a lance to be thrown, (*lanca de aremeso*) which penetrated his heart and he fell dead but the Rayaputo could not boast of his (*thrust-tiro*) feat, for the comrades (of the slain man) surrounded him in such a manner that though Mahā Ragām Reptissing, a son of the general, set out with a large part of the army to his rescue, the Daquinis [107] killed him inspite of them all and hurled a lance at the general's son that passed through four folds of the suit that he wore round his waist, pierced the dress which was quilted with cotton to the thickness of two fingers, and the steel point entered though slightly into his belly. It can be seen from this not only the quantity of the arms (that look like silver in their bright steel and like lancets in sharpness) but the force with which they are hurled. The whole army ran to his rescue with so much noise that the Daquinis satisfied with their work dispersed and were gone without being pursued by anybody, for each one ran to his own post fearing lest it should be attacked by the Daquinis. Such was the fear that all had of their daring and incredible speed. The Raya was frightened by the boldness and agility of his adversaries and grieved for the death of the Rayaputos, specially of those who saved his life, because he did not think much of the others. So he ordered a halt to give them a funeral according to their custom which is to burn them in a big fire and the bigger the fire [108] the more solemn is the funeral. Therefore the relations and friends of the deceased show their affection by sending a great quantity of wood for his fire (funeral), he who sends more wood loves more and living persons feel greatly satisfied for having contributed to such a pious act. The grave Mouros bury their dead putting a pile of stone on the grave and the bigger the piles the more distinguished and great is the man who lies there. These are built in the fields and these eminences of stone correspond to the

high and sublime mausoleum built by those who end their life at home.

The army at last arrived at Sulapur, the first fortress of the Mogol in these regions, and there ended the scarcity and the frequent and numerous deaths from which it had suffered during the march, for few were the days on which eight hundred and more casualties did not occur, as the Daquinis had poisoned the water in that circuit. Those (alone) had escaped safely who had ordered their water to be boiled well and drank only boiled water.

CHAPTER XIII

The miserable story and surprising disgrace of an apostate at Sulapur.

As we find ourselves at Sulapur, it will be well to relate what happened there to an apostate and though the case deserves silence rather than narration I shall very briefly tell it as it is manifested thereby that our weakness and wickedness arise from our forsaking God. A clergyman of a certain religion disguised in secular clothes acted as constable at Sulapur. The Indians imagine with strange persistency that all Europeans are artillerymen but greater is the deception practised by the Europeans who take advantage of this foolishness, for when they want to fly either for crimes or for license they pass to their country under this name (as an artilleryman) and get enough for their subsistence. There are many artillerymen of different nationalities in this fortress and this man commanded them with the title of Constable. Now that it is known [110] it is necessary to take note of another thing for the comprehension of this case. In these lands of the Moors there is an inviolable law or custom that if any offence is committed against one who is

not a Mouro, be he a Christian, Gentio or Jew, etc., if he wants to be avenged he has to become a Mouro. When he declares himself as such, justice at once grants satisfaction to the aggrieved according to the nature of the offence. The same is the case if he has debts and does not want to pay, for when he becomes a Mouro he owes nothing (to anybody) nor can the creditor say anything about it. All these are known. This fortress was commanded by an Abyssinian, the Etheopeans of Prester John are so styled—and for their valour and fidelity they are much esteemed in these regions and called Sedy Saibo, that is to say, Lord Abyssinian (*Senhor Abexim*). This Governor was one day in his place of audience when among other suitors appeared this unlucky man who after making his salam to the Governor in the Moorish fashion told him that he had a word to tell him in secret. The Governor asked him to wait till the end of the audience. So he was on his legs for three hours while all [111] the Mouros were seated. When all were gone the Governor asked him what he wanted. He replied that Mafoma had appeared before him in the previous night and told him that he should turn a Mouro if he wanted to save himself. This he said with great humility and with hands crossed on his chest and begged to be admitted into so holy a faith. The Governor looked at him and said, “Art not thou a clergyman of the Christians?”

“Yes sir,” he replied.

“If thou sayst thou art,” returned the Governor, “what motive hast thou for giving up the faith in which thou hast been brought up, and embracing the religion of the Mouros? If anybody has offended thee, tell me, and I shall avenge thee in what manner thou likest, and if thou owest anything to anybody, declare it, for I promise to pay it for thee, however high the sum may have grown.”

Then the apostate swore that none had offended him and he owed nothing to anybody but he wanted to be a Mouro to save himself, for Mafoma had so directed him. The astonished

Governor directed him to go home and speak about it another day, for in the interval God might enlighten him. The apostate replied that he would [112] not give up his intention and after many days he gave no other reply than that he resolved to obey the command of Mafoma. The Governor was constrained by such a resolute reply and calling a servant ordered him to bring the Boxa (it is a strong and square piece of cloth with a large ribbon at its end ; in it they put the most cherished goods and fasten it in such a manner that it becomes a well-made and secure packet) which he ordered to be unfastened and then sent away the servant. He himself then drew from it a bag two palms in length (it was of dyed cloth), he drew out of it another bag of brocade and opening it he drew a beautifully worked and perfect crucifix and after gazing at it and kissing it showed it to the apostate and asked him whether he knew that Lord. He replied (placing his right hand on the top of his head which is the salute among the Mouros) : *Azaret Ina is que Nizanahest*, that is to say, it is the image of holy Jesus ; and then the Governor said to the wretch in anger :—"Dost thou want to forsake the Lord who created thee and after much suffering [113] redeemed thee on the cross to follow the falsehoods of Mafoma ? Art thou mad ? Forsakest thou light to go to grope in darkness ? The heaven for hell ? Is it possible that thou who hast the high dignity of a clergyman (*sacerdote*) hast a heart so mean that thou wantst to pass from a Minister of God to be the executioner of the Devil ? I believe thou hast undoubtedly that enemy in thy body, for otherwise it would not have been possible. Well then, don't be a Mouro and I promise to favour thee so long as thou livest and when I give up this command, thou knowest well that I am a commander of three thousand horse and have abundance of money to spend, I promise to take thee as my partner and I shall do all these and more for thee if thou payest me by hearing my confession when I want." The Governor said all these with his eyes bathed in tears and the apostate listened with dry eyes without saying a word, so that the Governor imagined

that he had converted him. and asked him with tenderness, "What dost thou say my Padre?"

"There is [114] much reason in what you say," replied the apostate, "but it makes no impression on me (*mas nada comigo tem lugar*) for I am resolved to be a Mouro, I shall not trouble you as I had the good luck to see Mafoma and I am inclined to obey him." The Governor became very furious and called him a Naçarene, that is to say, a renegade, and other abusive names and in conclusion said in anger, "Go, wretch, do what thou likest and take this warning which I give thee, if thou speakst to any body about what passed between us I shall immediately put thee on *soly*—that is to say, pierce you." It is the instrument of execution in these regions, a wood firmly fixed in the ground with a very sharp point at the other end; on this the culprit is seated and when it enters through his body, two executioners drag him by the legs until the point appears through the head and he is in that state left to the birds who do not take long to devour him. Thus threatened the apostate left the presence of the Governor and thence went to the house of the Cahazy of the Mouros where he professed (the faith) of the sect of Mafoma and begged the ministers to go with him to his house for circumcising him [115]. He remained in bed for many days on account of the wound caused thereby, of which not a few dies. After he had been cured (he rose—*se levantou*) he got as reward a Mouro to marry and many a cruzado per day besides the sixty he got per month as constable, and so felt very happy. I do not know how he ended but it is not necessary to enquire about it. None wondered at the conduct of the Governor, for he was one of those who had accompanied the patriarch, Dom Affonso Mendes.

When he left Ethiopea and when that Prelate died at Goa he had nothing to give to his followers and they found themselves unprovided for. So cold was the affection of the Christians that these had to seek a living among the Mouros.

This Governor finding himself at Goa in that condition embarked for Surrate where he met others of his nation who knew him, for he was their leader. They persuaded him to serve a king who esteemed the Abyssinians very much and particularly men of such high station as was his. He did so and left for the capital of Agra and the great Mogol [116] immediately appointed him captain of eight hundred horse and he afterwards rose to be an umbrao of three thousand horse and was now Governor of Sulapur, a fortress of importance, as it is on the frontiers. But he always preserved the faith of Christ and used to confess whenever he met a missionary.

SURENDRANATH SEN

Reviews

The Prophet of Islam,—By Mahammad Ali, M.A., LL. B., p. 45, with a Preface, price As. 4. The book can be obtained from Ahmadiyya Buildings, Lahore. The get-up of the book is good.

In this small treatise, Mr. Mahammad Ali, the well-known Indian patriot, has given a charming sketch of the life of the Prophet Muhammad. He has particularly dealt with those points which the enemies of Islam consider to be the weakness of Prophet's life, *e.g.*, his polygamy and religious intolerance. As regards his polygamy, Mr. Mahammad Ali rightly points out that he married at 25 and lived with a single wife—Khadijah up to 54, when she died; up to 54, the Prophet of Islam bore a spotless character, but after 55 when his polygamous connection began, he became suddenly voluptuous! The man who was a master of passions up to 54, can hardly become a victim of passions after 55. Old age rather soothes the passions of a man and does not augment them.

“No other motive than compassion for the ladies who were given this honour can be attached to these marriages. If there had been any less honourable motive his choice would have fallen on others than widows, and under the Arab custom a man in his position could have plenty of youthful virgins.”

As to the preaching of faith by sword, Mr. Mahammad Ali observes as follows: “A misconception generally prevails among all non-Muslims. It is that the Holy Prophet Muhammad preached his faith with the sword. It is a myth pure and simple. The basic principle of Islam, a faith in all the prophets of the world, is enough to give the lie to this allegation. The great and liberal mind that preached not only love and respect for the founders of the great religions of the world but much more than that—faith in them—could not shrink down to the narrowness of intolerance for those very religions. Tolerance is not in fact the word that can sufficiently indicate the breadth of the attitude of Islam to other religions. It preaches equal love for all, equal respect for all, equal faith in all.” This misconception prevails not only among non-Muslims but among Muslims too. For, is it not a fact that most of the Muslims believe that they can pass to Heaven if they succeed in killing a *Kafir* or unbeliever? The Prophet of Islam was tolerant indeed, but some of his followers are not. However this may be, we are decidedly of opinion this brief sketch will go a great way in establishing

friendly relations between Muslims and non-Muslims of India. We can safely recommend this book to them.

A. GUHA

The Evolution of Man Scientifically Disproved, p. 125. By Rev. William A. Williams, D. D., published by the author himself, 1202 Atlantic Avenue Camden, New Jersey, U. S. A. The get-up of the book is good.

The book is divided into three parts. In the first part, material evolution, especially the evolution of the human body is disproved. In the second part, the alleged proofs of the evolution are further considered and disproved. In the third part, the author shows that the evolution fails to account for the origin of the individual soul. In the first part, the author shows some scholarship in collecting evidence against organic evolution. The evolutionists themselves condemn it. As Prof. Newman puts it, "Reluctant as we may be to admit, honesty compels the evolutionist to admit that there is no absolute proof of organic evolution." It is true that there is hardly any evidence for the transmutation of the species. Because the theory of organic evolution is disproved, it does not necessarily follow that the theory of creation of the living creatures including man and woman in their fully developed forms as advocated in the first book of the Old Testament is true. Again what about the inorganic evolution? The author hardly brings forward any argument against the inorganic evolution. In the book of the Genesis, we find that God created the earth in the first day, firmament or heaven in the second day, grass and other vegetables in the third day, stars in the fourth day, and so on. Can any scientist of repute give any credence to the above theory of creation? It appears to us that the author hardly writes with an open mind. In the second part, he brings forward further evidence against the transmutation of species from the standpoint of Palaeontology. "The whole hypothetical pedigree of man is not supported by a single genus or a single fossil species." In the third part, the author holds that the evolution fails to account for the spiritual part of the man. The individual soul cannot be regarded as the product of the arrangement of the brain substance. Neither can it be the product of the evolution, nor a growth from father or mother. The author concludes that God creates each soul anew, as He created the souls of Adam and Eve. On the theory advocated by the author, it is not possible to explain the unequal position of the human beings. If

God is just, why does He make men and women unequal in their position in life? The book though rich in materials, does not always show the correct argumentative power of its author. The author's bias for Christianity at times blinds him.

A. GUHA

Calcutta Rhymes: (Wise, unwise and otherwise). By Diogenes. Thacker, Spink & Co., 1926. Diogenes (shall we accept his statement and know him for John Munroe, Captain), as the author styles himself in the exquisite preface to this book of verses, has 'perpetrated verse' and is willing to submit his performances to the judgment of those who are not poets; and has a request to make,—that his critics may be selected from those who have been amused by the book. Does not this show that our twentieth century Diogenes is not wholly impervious to praise or blame?

But he had no cause for anxiety; few of his readers will fail to be amused by the lines now caustic, now reflective, almost always full of vigour. The first thing that strikes is the variety of themes that appeal to him,—Calcutta and the tram ticket, the Howrah Bridge and the Calcutta Corporation, Revolutionary Bengal and Non-Co-Operation Movement, Nurses and Surgeons, Sir Surendranath's patriotism and Mr. R. C. Bonerjee's love for Browning, nothing escapes him;—he has a word for everything, "wise, unwise and otherwise," as the case merits. He is very seldom without his humour and tries steadily to look at the absurdities of all things. This may go a little way to explain his distorting almost all things Indian, his versifying in the wake of Kipling, but there is no cause for the gnashing of teeth against an honest laugh.

To Diogenes, parody is a favourite literary form. Out of 80 poems, the parodies number nearly ten and they are all cleverly done. The 'Doctor's proposal' and 'A legend of Calcutta' will make everybody laugh—'No flowers by request' on the much discussed affair of the burial of the Pir will not be an equal success, as public memory is short; it has already ceased to feel about the question,

The poet is not without a touch of seriousness in some of his poems, as in the very first piece—On Calcutta.

"Imaginary Opinions," taken from different authorities—Gandhi and Tagore, Agent, E. I. Ry. and Secretary, Poetry Society, Calcutta—and stated in the characteristic manner of those from whom they purport to come, add greatly to the delight of the verses and let us hope this

novelty will be, as it certainly deserves, to be, appreciated. But is not the Shadow of Diogenes discernible among the judges too?

PRIYARANJAN SEN

"India: Its Character" (A Reply to Mother India) by J. A. Chapman, Librarian, Imperial Library, Calcutta (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1928, 5s. net) is a welcome addition to the many rejoinders called forth by Miss Mayo's provoking book. The secret of Mr. Chapman's very successful presentation of the real Indian life within the narrow compass of only 84 pages lies in his conviction that "no people should be judged except after long and deep study" and this little book is surely the result of such a conscientious study. The matter is most intelligently selected so as to cover as much as possible aspects that do signify and it is put admirably in good, simple, terse language inimitable in expressiveness and beauty. He further wisely adds that the judgment formed of a foreign people need never be spoken out—at any rate, we may say, spoken out rudely, harshly, with brutal vigour, not to speak of, for the ignoble end of political propaganda or, worse still, to intensify the great evil of racial antipathy. Sensible people are expected to remember that in these days assumption of unwarranted superiority will never go unchallenged.

We are glad to note that Mr. Chapman has so honestly approached his difficult study in a manner contrary to the habit of average Europeans and has taken care to regulate his powers of keen observation and habit of analysis by a sympathetic imagination which, we all know, is the open sesame between "stranger and stranger."

In the best sense of the word, his observations on Indian men and women, their manners, ways of life and thought, conditions of existence, beliefs and ideals, are shrewd. He knows, for instance, that religion and not weather "is the thing to talk to any Indian Travelling companion" on a train, who, oftner than not, will have with him a *religious book*, or, that, if an Indian sits too far apart from his foreign travelling companion while partaking in the train of his meal, he does it not from unsociableness but because "there is bound up something of sacrament" with every meal. He can realise that if men and women, like Ranade, his wife, Ramabhai, even his orthodox father of the "old" school of ideas and practice, Moradale, Rabindranath's brothers, their wives, "are not lovable people, where on earth are there lovable people?" And these are, he rightly thinks, not exceptions to the general

rule, for, says he, "Most of the Indian faces that I have known well have had all the signs of clean living." One may go on quoting endlessly from Mr. Chapman's beautiful little book so extraordinarily rich in such remarks. As a further qualification we may mention that this foreigner has an eye for "faces with a *rishi*-like smile, in whose heart there always is *puja*" and who possess a beautiful soul "with which may go many weaknesses, incapacities, and so on, but there remains that something that Jesus or St. Francis would have loved." But you must not hastily conclude that Mr. Chapman's is special pleading. His honest and just appreciation of whatever is best in the Indian does not debar detection of something detestable in an unlovely man's character when occasion brings him unhappily into such a person's contact. He equally notes that India is too much "fear-ridden" or was for centuries "a harried land" which accounts for "the little-competence" of Indians, from which, however, "it would perhaps be wrong to draw any hard-held conclusion." Still more noteworthy is the writer's admirable moral courage in candidly admitting that "the common comparative freedom of Indian men from the obsession of sexual thought that arises out of sexual starvation is due, I believe, to their living more natural lives than mine has been." There are other such evidences at pages 50, 54, 55, which we have not space enough for quoting.

Mr. Chapman has gone straight into the real heart of this much misunderstood, but more maligned, vast country and very old and extremely complex civilisation and culture, for suggestive sources and not to hospitals, police courts, census statistics collected in the first instance by illiterate village *choukidars* and marshalled later on by officials with a certain purpose in view.

His chapter headings themselves evince real discretion and sound judgment and indicate his competence. He reveals the relation between strangers, between father and son, grandfather and grandson, mother and son, brother and sister and so on, till we come in the 7th chapter to Miss Mayo's odious performance, to be followed by four nicely written chapters on men, women, children and animals in general and two on Indian literature. The closing two pages of the book are set apart for discriminating true Hinduism from the Hinduism condemned by un-Christian political Christians.

We must say, however, that Mr. Chapman's is a poetic personality, necessarily emotional, and even in this book he cannot or does not disguise his strong likes and dislikes. It is, we presume, mainly meant not for Indian readers, though their fine susceptibilities thoughtlessly hurt

by a foolish book written by a foolish woman may find in the present volume something soothing for its "charity." This book should certainly be in the hands of every Western man and woman whom Miss Mayo may have succeeded in effectively misleading.

J. G. B.

Anthropology of the Syrian Christians—By Rao Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, Lecturer in Anthropology, University of Calcutta.

The present work—consisting of some £50 large, clearly printed and splendidly illustrated pages—published by the Cochin State—is the result of a more intensive study of the manners and customs of the Syrian Christians of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, than was possible for Mr. Iyer when he embodied the results of his early investigations in Chapter XVI of the second volume of the 'Cochin's Tribes and Castes' nearly twenty years ago. The volume now under consideration opens with a lengthy and interesting introduction by the late Dr. William Crooke. Mr. Iyer's work begins with a historical account of the origin and development of the Syrian Church covering 50 pages. The next 100 pages are devoted to social status and organisation, marriage customs and inheritance. Religion takes up the next 50 pages and this includes a treatment in considerable detail of such subjects as the sacraments, holidays and feasts, liturgies and forms of worship prevalent among Syrian Christians. Then follow a few very interesting chapters covering 50 pages on such matters as Education, Slavery and Caste problems, occupations and industries, manners, dress and games. The book concludes with an account of the origin, history and customs of certain kindred communities, the Roman Catholics of the Latin Rite—not the Syro-Romans proper who are described in the main body of the book—but the Latin Nazaranees, who though claiming kinship with Syrians are really the descendants of the converts of St. Francis Xavier and the Portuguese missions. There are several valuable appendices on such subjects as songs, proverbs and physical measurements. The illustrations are very numerous, consisting mostly of photographs taken by Mr. Iyer himself, of natural scenery, family, marriage and funeral groups, priests, nuns and bishops in characteristic ecclesiastical dress; houses, streets, churches, cathedral and coconut gardens. Indeed the whole book contains a mass of valuable information—religious and anthropological—regarding a Christian community indigenous to India, older than

most of the Hindu sects, and is indispensable to anyone who wishes to make a scientific study of the ethnic, religious and social problems of Cochin and Travangore—States in which Syrian Christians have played so important a part from the early centuries of the Christian era. More particular reference may be made to a few matters some of which as far as may be necessary Mr. Iyer may bear in mind when he brings out another edition of his work.

(1) I was interested to find that Mr. Iyer does not agree with most modern European scholars in rejecting the ancient tradition which represents St. Thomas as the first Christian teacher in India. Most historical scholars, like Dr. Crooke in his introduction, summarily reject legends because historical documents are not forthcoming to establish their accuracy. But 'not proven' is not the same as 'untrue', especially when one bears in mind that the earliest records of Christianity in Malabar are from the nature of the case not available for deposit in the British Museum, though what in time may yet be recovered it is impossible to say. We are however on solid ground when we recall that in the sixth century A. D. an Alexandrian monk, Cosmos Indicopleustes, found many Christian Churches on the coast of India, and in Ceylon and Socotra, with clergy ordained by and subject to the Persian Archbishop of Seleucia, and with a tradition that they had been founded in the first century. The full significance of this is realised when we remember that there are stray references in earlier writers from the second century onwards to an Indian Church of apostolic origin. Summing up his discussion of the subject Mr. Iyer points out that in the palmy days of the Roman Empire "there had been a great deal of commercial intercourse between the coasts of Malabar and Palestine, and the Jews had already settled in these parts. Judging from these historical facts (liturgical documents, testimony of the Fathers of the Church, the account of the early European travellers) and from the traditions current among them, as also from the old numerous songs sung by the Syrians on marriage and other occasions, it is not unlikely that the apostle St. Thomas came to these parts to spread the Gospel among the Hindus of Kerala." Mr. Iyer's references to the literature of the subject need bringing up to date. In particular mention should be made of the published researches of scholars working in connection with the Rylands Library of Manchester.

(2) Dr. Crooke draws attention to the fact that Mr. Iyer makes no reference to the view strongly maintained by Sir George Grierson that the *Bhakti Marga* was deeply influenced through contact with the Christianity of South India. Mr. Iyer is I think an orthodox Hindu,

but he writes with a remarkable detachment, fairness, fulness and accuracy of the religious tenets and rites of the various bodies of Syrian Christians. Throughout the book there is nothing that shews any Hindu bias in his treatment of the sacred doctrines of Christianity, and so his treatment of the possible influence of Christianity on certain aspects of Hinduism would be all the more valuable. He has brought out clearly how the Christianity of Malabar was influenced by its Hindu environment. In a later edition of his work he may bear in mind the other aspect of the question.

(3) I am inclined to think that the book shews a lack of proportion in the extent to which it deals with Cochin as opposed to Travancore, and with Roman Catholics (especially the decisions of the Synod of Diamper) as opposed to the other great bodies of Syrians. Greater stress might also have been laid on the village community life of the Syrians, and of the cordial relations that exist with their Hindu neighbours, as evidenced by the fact that so many Christians are tenants, in the matter of land tenure, of Namabudiri Brahmans, and that in settling disputes, village elders, both Hindu and Christian, are called in as arbitrators. There are also several statements in the book which a Syrian Christian would probably regard as incomplete or incorrect, while there are also several minor errors due to faulty proof-reading. But these are small matters that can be easily remedied. The book as a whole is a great contribution to mutual understanding and good will in a sphere where bitter controversy is still too much the order of the day, and we should like to see more Hindu scholars coming forward to treat the problems of Christian history, life and thought in the dispassionate method characteristic of Mr. Iyer.

GEORGE HOWELL

A MEMORANDUM FROM SIR MICHAEL E. SADLER

We are very glad to publish the following brief memorandum kindly written specially for our Review by Sir Michael E. Sadler, K.C.S.I., C.B., D.Litt., LL.D., and sent by the last mail from University College, Oxford, for which we are grateful to him.

Has Calcutta University ever organised an exhibition of its treasures? It must possess many things precious by their association and of intrinsic value, books and pictures especially. Such an exhibition would emphasise the personal side of the Alma Mater. It might encourage rich men and women to make gifts of beautiful books, pictures and plate to the University. An exhibition of this kind has just been opened in Oxford at the Ashmolean Museum. For the first time almost all the most interesting pieces of Oxford College Plate have been brought together. The Goldsmiths' Company, active in the encouragement of beautiful workmanship, suggested the Exhibition and have joined with other guarantors in defraying the cost of installation and custody. The Victoria and Albert Museum has lent show-cases. The selection of pieces has been made by Mr. G. R. Hughes of the Goldsmiths' Company, Mr. Andrew Shirley of the Ashmolean Museum and Mr. W. W. Watts, F.S.A., late of the Victoria and Albert Museum. The latter has also written an admirable and scholarly catalogue.

M. E. SADLER

THE MASTER'S LODGINGS : UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,
OXFORD.

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THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Our thanks are due to our valuable contributor Dr. Taraknath Das, A.M., Ph.D., now at Munich, Germany, for having drawn

our attention to the announcement in the London Times of October, 25, last that Sir Abe Bailey, who took a prominent part in the establishment, in 1920, of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, of which the Prince of Wales is the head, as "Visitor" offered in his letter to the Prince, dated London, July, 18, 1928, to provide an income of £5,000 a year payable in quarterly instalments in perpetuity. This amount is meant to promote research in international relations. The Prince has, of course, gratefully accepted this munificent gift on behalf of the Institute.

The history of the foundation as given by the donor in his letter is briefly as follows :—

When on the Armistice being made peace terms had to be settled, a number of qualified public-spirited men—officials and non-officials (devoted to public service rather than amassing of wealth)—assembled in Paris to make an exhaustive study of the problems involved. Discussion followed of the method between the British and the American Delegations resulting in the scheme for founding national institutes for the study of international affairs which later on materialised as the Institute in question. Sir Abe Bailey sent Lord Robert Cecil £250 for the initial costs of organisation and with the help of Lord Grey, Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Clynes and Lord Robert Cecil, this centre for the study of Imperial and Foreign relations was created in 1920. The noble gift of Chatham House by Colonel and Mrs. R. W. Leonard of Ontario to the British Commonwealth furnished it with a worthy local habitation and the Dominions (Australia and Canada) have started branches of their own. The Prime Minister and the Viceroy of India are its honorary presidents. By a Royal Charter defining its non-political character the Institute has been precluded from propaganda in any shape confining its activities chiefly to research. It possesses a well-furnished library of current international politics. It produced "The History of the Peace Conference of Paris" and makes an annual Survey of International Affairs and undertakes the

study of specific countries and problems through specially constituted study groups of qualified members who invite people from all parts of the world to Britain to help enquiry and offer first-hand knowledge not otherwise available. The importance of economic questions in international affairs has been given due recognition by enlisting the co-operation of business men possessing information of which the political value was hitherto not thoroughly realized.

It is financed mostly by members' subscriptions and notable donations in money and house property besides annual contributions of £250 from each of the three political parties in England and of £200 from the Bank of England.

Sir Abe Bailey strongly emphasizes the important fact that the Institute exists for research and research only and adds a human touch to his princely gift by referring to his admiration for Cecil John Rhodes who, he believes, was convinced that "the nations of the Empire by learning to live together in peace might teach that lesson to the rest of the world." "Such an aim," he holds, "can only be realized by methods of exact and continuous study, such as those which the Royal Institute of International Affairs has reduced to practice."

In Sir Abe Bailey's language "In thus showing how international questions can be made the subject of continuous and dispassionate inquiry the British Empire will be making the most important contribution to the peace of the world."

We offer to our Alma Mater one suggestion in this connection, *viz.*, that steps should be taken by this premier University of India to connect it with this world movement for the study and development of International Relations by the creation of a Chair of International Law attached to the University Law Department with the help of funds provided partly by the Government and partly by donations from rich Calcutta merchants whose duty it is to endow such a chair.

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ALL-INDIA MEDICAL CONFERENCE

We have received from the Secretaries, All-India Medical Conference to be held in Calcutta during the ensuing Christmas holidays, a circular letter and a copy of the provisional programme and have pleasure in inviting, as desired, Papers which should reach by the 15th December from competent writers on Scientific, Public Health and kindred problems to be discussed in the various Sections of the Conference of which Sir Nilratan Sircar, Kt., M.A., M.D., D.C.L. (Oxon.), LL.D. (Edin.), is the Chairman of the Reception Committee and Messrs. Jatindranath Maitra, M.B., and Aghorenath Ghosh, M.B., the Honorary Secretaries, the office being located at 62, Bowbazar Street. We regret we have no space for the 9 pages of printed matter forming the circular which, among other details, mentions the Sections into which the Conference is divided, *viz.*, (1) Scientific and Public Health (including Maternity and Child welfare), (2) Medical Ethics, etc., (3) Medical Education and Research, (4) Indigenous Medicine, (5) Medical and Public Health Administrations, (6) Medical Jurisprudence, (7) Medical Benefit Organisation and (8) Formation of an All-India Association, indicating the subjects that will be discussed at the meetings of the Conference.

Ourselfes

DEATH OF LALA LAJPAT RAI

In the sudden death of Lala Lajpat Rai, popularly known as the lion of the Punjab, at Lahore, on November 17, whose noble services to and sacrifices for his country have won for him even from his political opponents their unstinted praise and esteem India has lost a selfless patriot and the Punjab one of her most glorious sons at this critical time when the country is on the eve of momentous constitutional changes. Born in 1865 in the Ludhiana District he was educated at Lahore and joined the Hissar Bar and early in life took up social service work in connection with the well-known Dayanand movement devoting himself specially to the removal of untouchability and uplift of the depressed classes and organisation of orphan relief in times of famine and severe earthquakes. His political activities began in 1888 for which in 1907 he suffered deportation under Regulation III of 1818 to the Mandalay jail (Burma). He next addressed himself to the important work of educating American public opinion about the real state of things in India, and on his return was elected President of the Calcutta session of the Special Congress in 1920. He was the author of "Arya Samaj," "United States of America," and "Unhappy India" (a reply to Miss Mayo's "Mother India").

We offer our sincerest condolence to the bereaved family of the departed noble soul.

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THE LATE MR. S. R. DAS

The death on September 29, of Mr. S. R. Das, Legal Member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General of

India and Member of the Senate, Calcutta University, removes an important figure from the camp of moderate politics, who in his own way has rendered valuable service to the cause of education and social reform. An ardent supporter of the Brahmo Samaj with which his father Mr. Durgamohan Das, a well-known Calcutta lawyer of eminence, was intimately associated the late Mr. Das took a living interest in education and his latest efforts had been directed towards the foundation of something like an English Public School for Indian boys, evidently, belonging to the well-to-do classes. We offer our sincere sympathy to the widow and her two sons.

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NEW PH.D.'s

The following gentlemen have been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy :

Name	Subject of the Thesis submitted
1. Mr. Gangacharan Kar, M.A.	"Comparative Studies in Mediæval Amatory Lyrics with reference to Bengali Vaishnava Pada-vali and Provencal Troubadour Poetry as Types."
2. Mr. S. K. Maitra, M.A., Lecturer, Calcutta University.	"The Ethics of the Hindus."
3. Mr. Amareswar Thakur, M.A.	"Hindu Law of Evidence or A Comparative Study of the Law of Evidence according to the Smritis."

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A NEW D.Sc.

Mr. Suddhodari Ghosh, M.Sc., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Science. The thesis submitted by him was

- (a) "On plane strain in elliptic co-ordinates."
- (b) "On liquid motion inside certain rotating circular arcs."
- (c) "On a problem of elastic circular plates."
- (d) "On the solution of $V_{,4_{10}}=C$ in bi-polar co-ordinates and its application to a problem of elasticity, etc."

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SREEGOPAL BASU MALLIK FELLOW

Prof. R. D. Ranade has been appointed Sreegopal Basu Mallik Fellow for the year 1928-1929.

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PREMCHAND ROYCHAND STUDENTSHIP

The Premchand Roychand Studentship in Literary Subjects for the year 1927 will be divided equally among the following four candidates on the usual conditions :—

Names	Theses
Mr. Asutosh Bhattacharya	... Vedanta as the theory of ... Knowledge.
Mr. Amarendraprasad Mitra	... Nationality in India.
Mr. Devaprasad Ghosh	... The Decorative Art of Orissa, and The Develop- ment of Buddhist Art in South India.
Mr. Tarakchandra Raychaudhuri	The Brahmins of Bengal.

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KAMALA LECTURESHIP

On the recommendation of the Syndicate the Senate has appointed Mr. M. R. Jayakar, M.A., LL.B., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.A., as Kamala Lecturer for 1928, the subject of his lectures being "Ideals of Indian Culture."

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A HONORARY D. SC.

The Senate met on October 12th, to confer *Honoris Causa* the Degree of Doctor in the Faculty of Science on Professor Arnold Sommerfeld, Professor of Theoretical Physics at the University of Munich and Reader of this University, on account of his eminent position and attainments in the Departments of Theoretical Physics, Mathematics and Applied Science. In honouring Prof. Sommerfeld our University honours one who by reason of his personal attainments is pre-eminently worthy. He has been the recipient of honours from all over the world, and we here feel honoured by being permitted, through his acceptance of our intention, to share in this widespread recognition. He was also the Editor of the Volumes on Physics in the Encyclopaedia of the Mathematical Sciences and he is best known as the author of a treatise on *Atomic Structure and Spectral Lines*.

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DR. EDWARD S. CORWIN

We are glad to announce that Dr. Edward S. Corwin, Professor of Jurisprudence at Princeton University, who is coming out as visiting Carnegie Professor of International Relations to Universities in China, will also kindly visit the University of Calcutta.

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DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN

We offer our hearty congratulations to Prof. S. Radhakrishnan, M.A., George V Prof. of Mental and Moral Philosophy, University of Calcutta, on the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Literature being conferred on him by the Andhra University.

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SIR BRAJENDRA LAL MITTER

We are glad to announce that Sir Brajendra Lal Mitter, Kt., M.A., Bar.-at-Law, Advocate-General, Bengal, Fellow of the Calcutta University, has been appointed as Law Member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General in succession to the late Mr. S. R. Das.

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LAW EXAMINATIONS

The next Preliminary, Intermediate and Final Examinations in Law will commence on the following dates. The last date, in each case, for submission of fees and applications for admission to the examinations is also stated below.

Examination.	Commencing date.	Last date for submission of fees and applications.
Preliminary Law	Monday, the 7th January, 1929	7th December, 1928.
Intermediate Law	Monday, the 14th ,, ,,	14th ,, ,,
Final Law	Monday, the 21st ,, ,,	14th ,, ,,

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L.T. AND B.T. EXAMINATIONS

The next L.T. and B.T. Examinations will commence on Tuesday, the 16th April, 1929.

Fees and applications for admission to the examinations must reach the office of the Controller of Examinations on or before the 5th March, 1929.
